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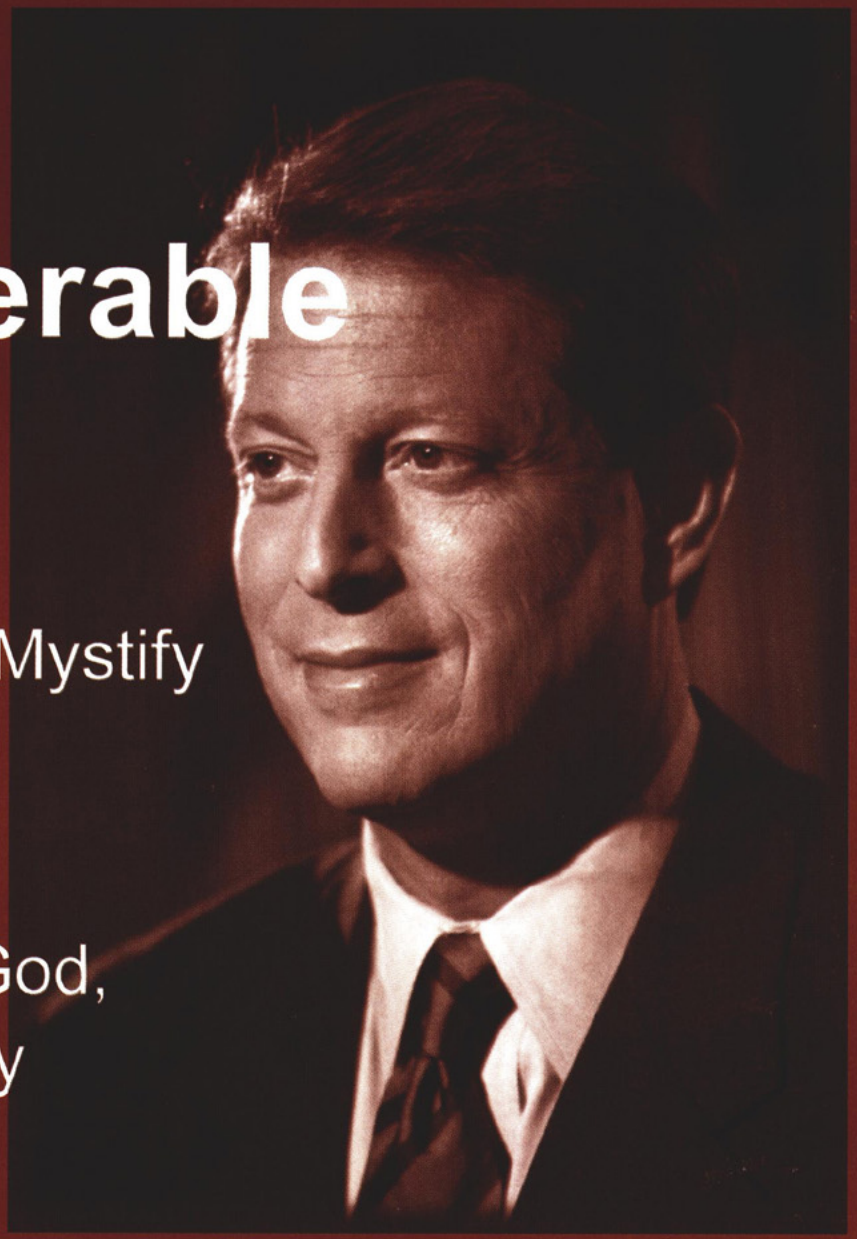

The Imponderable Al Gore

Why Democrats Mystify Republicans

by John Kurzweil

Al Gore: Thank God, I'm a Country Boy

by Dennis Hollingsworth

Steve Baldwin politely urges the state school board: Dump your unconstitutional, illegal, small-minded regulations

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CORRESPONDENCE

Taps for the First Amendment

I was delighted to read John Kurzweil's article about the left's attack on freedom of speech ("First Amendment Death Certificate — Targeting Religion and the Family," *CPR*, July/August). The latest issue of Toward Tradition's newsletter makes some very similar points.

A not-so-random thought: Perhaps at some point we should tackle the question of what can be done to defend the First Amendment, which really is in danger of being effectively gutted. I confess I am at a loss in this area, and would appreciate any ideas you might offer.

Adam Pruzan
Program Director, Toward Tradition
Mercer Island, Washington

CPR's editor responds:

I suspect the real problem is not what to do, but what to do first. The left is, as usual, 'way ahead in this battle and also, as usual, most good people know little or nothing of what is occurring. My suggestion for step one you are already taking: get the word out to more people. As awareness grows, the human resources necessary to fight back will inceasingly appear.

Gurza Melt-Down

Editor's note: George Tennyson, in this issue's Criticus column (page 31), reports eloquently his recent encounter with L.A. Times *columnist Agustin Gurza, covering the main points raised. However, Mr. Gurza's column criticizing a year-old Criticius piece interested me mainly as an example of the mind-numbing inaccuracies that appear daily in major newspapers, so obviously wrong it seems impossible any writer could perpetrate them innocently. Such was Mr. Gurza's lead-off statement that — "No kidding" — Criticus had proposed deporting people who spoke incorrectly. Could anyone, I wondered, really believe there was "no kidding" involved? anyone who had read even only one, full column by George Tennyson? Then I remembered Paul Ciotti's revealing 1992 article "How the Media Makes People Paranoid," and tried my best to be charitable. I wrote to Mr. Gurza:*

As I mentioned in my phone message, I wanted to thank you for calling yesterday, alerting me to your column. Dr. Tennyson is out of town until July 26, and I will leave it to him to respond to your writing, which he may be unable to do until he returns.

In the meantime, I will just say that your piece, especially the "No kidding" sentence that begins the second paragraph, reminded me of an article we ran many years ago by former *L.A. Times* reporter Paul Ciotti, which I have enclosed and that you may find interesting. Your criticisms of Tennyson's column particularly brought to mind Ciotti's comment beginning at the bottom of his second page (page 15 in the original issue): that deadline pressure rarely gives "even the most competent reporter much time for reflection or understanding. And when there's no time to think, reporters have to rely on experience, which is to say, they have to fit the facts into the nearest convenient pigeonhole."

My main purpose as *CPR's* editor is to stimulate thoughtful discussion of ideas and issues, so I also thank you for taking time and space in your column to discuss George Tennyson's piece. In the hope of stimulating more discussion in the future, I enclose also our current issue and have added your name to our regular media distribution list. Thanks for taking an interest in *CPR*.

Alas, the chip on Mr. Gurza's shoul-

(Please turn to page 15)

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SACRAMENTO SPECTATOR

Whew — that was a close one. The Legislature adjourned and got out of town before the money ran out — but just barely. Not only did the Democrats and their fellow travelers in the GOP spend *all* of this year's $14 billion budget surplus, they managed to eat into next year's projected surplus in their spending frenzy. As usual, only the Assembly Republicans put up even a modicum of a fight. The Senate Pachyderms, on the short end of a 25-15 split complicated by Cathy Wright's total abandonment of principle on her way out the door and Bruce McPherson's normal pusillanimity, dutifully rolled over and played doormat.

And as usual the boys and girls couldn't even finish their perfidy on time (after all, they've only had eight months to figure out how to bolix up California). The last night of session, which constitutionally must end at midnight, saw the ritual "stopping of the clock" at 11:58, as the spending orgy went on until dawn. Your *Spectator* assumes that it would be futile to challenge this practice in court — after all what is the clearly written intent of a constitution now-a-days? But it would still make an interesting test case. The constitution says the Legislature *must* adjourn at midnight on such and such a date. It doesn't do so. Seems to me that *"ipso facto,"* one of Bill Buckley's favorite phrases, is appropriate here, as in: "everything done after midnight is, *ipso facto,* illegal and without force of law."

One reason the legislators need extra time at the end of each session is that the last two weeks are always choke-full of fund raisers. Virtually every member having a fund raiser during the last weeks of session is a ritual as certain as sticky-buns and hot dogs on a stick at the State Fair. It's a pretty nifty deal actually — if you're a legislator. The bulk of controversial legislation is almost always left for these last weeks. *Ergo* the lobbyists are in full throat and their check writing hands are in heat. You just happen to have a fund raiser two days before a committee or floor vote on legislation that has been pending for a year or more.

All readers who think a lobbyist can say "no" in this situation please raise your hands. I have a bridge — you may choose from among the London, the Brooklyn, or the one between my lower molars — for sale, and, though I hate to do it, I'll mark down the price for you, but only you.

Your *Spectator* attended several of these salons — in the interest of fact-finding and first-hand reportage only, of course. The harried lobbyists, who often must "attend" two breakfasts, a luncheon, and three-to-five evening "receptions" per day, scurry in, don their name tag, grab a soft drink or ice tea, say "hi" to the legislator of the moment, and then high-tail it out the door to the next event to repeat the process. These poor fellows, whose clients have paid $1,000-to-$2,500 for each such function, spend all of about five minutes at each of them. But nobody minds. It's the check that counts.

Having some friends among this group, I make it my duty to sample, leisurely, the usually upper-end munchies and wines provided for my pals who haven't time to enjoy them themselves. I'm happy to report that the days of yellow and white cheese squares, pretzels, and wine with a cap, not a cork, are long gone. The wine industry in California has spread over so much of the state that very good, hard-to-find vintages can usually be had at any function, not just those for Napa-area legislators.

Your *Spectator's* favorite event, though, remains that of a veteran state senator whose entertainment invariable includes a country-western band that, at some point in the evening, usually plays "Your Cheatin' Heart." This senator is beyond reproach. Indeed, he is a man of honor and integrity. But that song is the perfect coda for your Legislature in August.

— A. P. C.

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Wimping Out

The accommodating Ron George demonstrates once more why he is so popular with the Legislature.

MARK S. PULLIAM

IS CHIEF JUSTICE RON GEORGE a wimp? His distinguished colleague, Associate Justice Janice Brown, thinks so, for not standing up to the Legislature when it encroached upon the Supreme Court's exclusive control of the State Bar Court. Her June 1 dissenting opinion in *Obrien v. Jones* accused the 4-3 majority, led by Ron George, of cowardice in abdicating one of its constitutional responsibilities to the other political branches: "The preservation of a viable constitutional government is not a task for wimps." Those are remarkable words to use in a judicial opinion. Let's peel back the onion in this case and see what the dispute was about. It is a strange and sordid tale.

Under the California Constitution, the judiciary is responsible for regulation of the legal profession. The admission and discipline of attorneys are judicial functions within the inherent authority of the California Supreme Court. Obviously, however, the Court cannot manage those functions without substantial assistance. As a practical matter, the responsibility has been delegated in large part to the State Bar, albeit subject to the Supreme Court's oversight. A State Bar Court was created in 1988 to conduct evidentiary hearings and make recommendations to the Supreme Court regarding the imposition of attorney discipline, subject to the Court's ultimate review and approval. In theory, the Supreme Court independently examines the recommendations of the State Bar Court in light of the entire record, but in reality the Bar Court's findings receive great weight. From 1988 to the present, the Supreme Court has been solely responsible for appointing the judges to the State Bar Court. The State Bar Court, consisting of a presiding judge and five hearing judges, are appointed to six year terms, and can be re-appointed for additional six year terms.

Senate Bill 143, sponsored by Senate President Pro Tem John Burton, altered the appointment process. As a result of S.B. 143, enacted last year, the Supreme Court will appoint only the presiding judge and two of the five hearing judges, effective November 1, 2000. The governor, the Senate Rules Committee (*i.e.*, John Burton), and the Speaker of the Assembly will each appoint a hearing judge. Moreover, the lay (*i.e.*, non-attorney) member of the State Bar Court's internal Review Department will be replaced by a judge who is a member of the State Bar.

THE THREE hearing judges appointed by the Supreme Court who would be replaced November 1 as a result of S.B. 143 challenged the law directly in the Supreme Court on the ground that it violated the separation of powers provision of the California Constitution which states: "The powers of state government are legislative, executive, and judicial. Persons charged with the exercise of one power may not exercise either of the others except as permitted by this Constitution." Judges of the State Bar Court are considered "judicial officers," upon whom the Supreme Court relies to carry out its constitutional duties. A century of precedent holds that the legislative branch lacks authority

Mark S. Pulliam, California Political Review's *legal issues correspondent, is an attorney in private practice in San Diego.*

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THE FRONT LINE

GOP 2000

Ah, Philadelphia. The nation's birthplace. It is truly inspiring to stand in Independence Hall, to travel the streets where our country was born, to see the physical location of the history to which we so often refer. In California, everything is so far apart, events too new, and American history too remote. When you are in Philadelphia, you are less than an hour away from Valley Forge, from Gettysburg, from where Washington crossed the Delaware. History becomes real.

It was hot, it was muggy, it was uncomfortable, but the convention was powerful. The energy in the air at the convention was palpable. People were excited. They weren't standing in the aisles complaining to the nearest television reporter.

They weren't bemoaning the takeover by the Party of the religious right, or the country clubbers, or the [name your hated Republican group here]. There was a definite attitude of victory in the air.

Republican Whip Ray Haynes represents California's 36th state Senate District.

The first couple of nights at the convention were "feel-good" nights. The Bush people went out of their way to show the real Republican Party. We all know what that Party is; it is a Party of individuals (not groups), who, despite their race, their obstacles, their background, or their national origin, have succeeded in this country because of their individual effort. They pursued the American

dream and succeeded.

As a Party, we have too often avoided their stories out of fear of looking like we are pandering. The Bush people showcased their stories, and the mainstream media accused them of pandering. The American people loved it, because the story of the Republican Party is the story of Americans, individuals overcoming great odds to succeed in this great experiment in freedom.

Then came Cheney and Bush. Cheney was strong. Bush was powerful. They gave the delegates a message of victory. They were not embarrassed to be conservative, and they were not embarrassed by the conservative messages and themes that have propelled Republicans to victory in the past. Gone were the days of fear of conservative themes, reborn were the themes of hope that conservatism brings. (We all know that conservative government policies are compassionate; it is no sin to be redundant by calling them that.)

The Philadelphia convention came off without a hitch, and Republicans attending the convention came away with a feeling they haven't had in years, a feeling that they were going to win in November.

More important, they came away with the feeling they were going to win on their own terms, with campaign themes that emphasize the positive aspects of conservatism, pursued with strength and a courage that could reinvigorate the Party. That is not just good news for conservatives; that is good news for the country.

— Ray Haynes

CPR

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to appoint or remove such judicial officers. S.B. 143 plainly violates the separation of powers. A ruling declaring it unconstitutional appeared to be a slam dunk. But this was not to be, as judicial pay raises were pending before the Legislature.

WE WILL return in a moment to the court's decision, but let us consider *why* John Burton had any interest in appointing judges to the State Bar Court, 12 years after its creation. It turns out that a friend of Burton's, Eben Gossage, who happened to be a convicted killer (as a young man, in 1975, he smashed his sister's skull 17 times with a hammer and then stabbed her corpse 45 times with a pair of scissors), was denied admission to the state Bar for lack of moral fitness despite passing the bar exam. (Gossage went to law school when he left prison and is now a well-connected businessman.) After the state Bar denied him admission, Gossage appealed to the State Bar Court. Burton, among other prominent supporters, testified on his behalf. By a 2-1 vote, the State Bar Court ruled in favor of Gossage. (The state Bar's appeal to the Supreme Court is pending.) One judge, the only non-lawyer on the State Bar Court, voted against Gossage, evidently provoking the notoriously hot-tempered Burton to set out to "get even." Burton's S.B. 143 eliminates the dissenter's seat on the State Bar Court and it gives Burton and his political cronies control of three hearing judges to boot. None of Burton's homicidal pals will ever be treated so shabbily in the future! In other words, this is a contemptible display of vindictiveness and political score-settling. One would think the Supreme Court would take a dim view of such things, especially since its prerogatives are being usurped for such unseemly reasons. But one would be wrong.

Three justices, Joyce Kennard, Kathryn Werdegar,

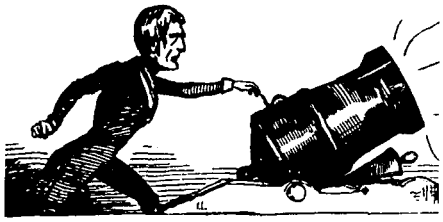
WHAT YOU HAVEN'T BEEN TOLD ABOUT GUN CONTROL

By SAM PAREDES

Are leftists devilishly clever? Or just stupid? One wonders. New York's "gun buy-back" scheme, for instance, offering $100 per gun, produced only 200 guns in 30 days. So they made it $250. Next day, 100 guns appeared — *all* .38 Special service revolvers, turned in by uniformed court officers who couldn't pass up such a deal for obsolete guns. One officer reportedly collected $1,500. The city is "rethinking" the program.

Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba, meanwhile, refuse to implement Canada's absurd gun registration program, originally slated to cost no more than $120 million, and so far having gobbled $325 million. Less than a *third* of Canadian gun owners are complying with the law, which they know is to set up gun confiscation. Things are so bad a former Royal Canadian Mounted Police officer formed the Law-Abiding Unregistered Firearms Association. He travels the country asking fellow gun owners to boycott the new Act, inviting them to "Come to jail with me!"

Back home, Clinton/Gore administration attorneys recently told the U.S. 5th Circuit Court of Appeals (*U.S. v. Emerson)* the 2nd Amendment *absolutely* does not protect the right of the people to keep and bear arms — *any* arms at all! One of the judges closed with this statement: "You shouldn't let it bother your sleep that Judge Garwood [the senior judge] and I, between us, have enough guns to start a revolution in most South American countries."



And the California Supreme Court recently ruled that the Legislature may grant the Court legislative powers, agreeing with Attorney General Bill Lockyer that the justices may amend legislation by adding new guns to the list of banned "assault weapons."

In another ruling, they held that requiring a person to *know* his gun is an illegal assault weapon before he could be prosecuted would render the law unenforceable. If the Legislature and the Attorney General don't know what constitutes an "assault weapon," how can ordinary citizen know?

You figure it out; are these people stupid or devilishly brilliant?

Sam Paredes is executive director of Gun Owners of California.

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LEGISLATIVE FILE

Eighteen GOP legislators criticized the State Board of Education for proposing new educational regulations that appear aimed at suppressing "politically incorrect" discussion of homosexual behavior in public and private schools. Lawyers say they could be extended to any educational group or club benefiting in any way from government education funding. An obvious target is the Boy Scouts. Home schoolers may come into play. The lawmakers say the Board exceeded its authority, going beyond what the law provides.

GOP Assemblyman Steve Baldwin is urging the state GOP to adopt a resolution at its fall convention. Written in anticipation of the Board adopting the regulations at its September meeting, the resolution details Baldwin's objections to them and to the law they are supposed to implement. The resolution:

Resolution condemning illegal, unconstitutional, anti-religion, anti-family, and pro-discrimination educational regulations of the California State Board of Education.

Whereas the California State Board of Education has recently adopted "anti-discrimination" regulations that could make it a violation of law for California's private schools, religious and otherwise, to create or maintain a teacher corps, student body, administrative staff, and educational environment that agrees with and supports the schools' most fundamental religious, moral, and/or educational principles, and

Whereas thee regulations could make it a violation of law, as a form of "verbal sexual harassment," for California's private and public schools to teach that homosexual behavior is immoral, and

Whereas depriving any school of these rights endangers and could make it

impossible for them to preserve their religious and/or educational character, threatening their very existence, and

Whereas the State Board's regulations shamefully embrace an anti-educational fear of open debate and diversity of ideas in favor of a cowardly closed-mindedness for our classrooms, and

Whereas the State Board's regulations unconstitutionally seek to violate and nullify millions of Californians' First Amendment religious, speech, and associational freedom rights, and

Whereas the State Board's regulations embody an irrational fear and hatred of religion and the traditional family and embody and encourage religious discrimination in direct contradiction to the purposes set forth by the Board itself in these very regulations, and

Whereas the State Board's adoption of these regulations was and is illegal because, in several areas, the regulations exceed the authority granted the Board by state law, adding noxious, overbroad, and burdensome provisions not provided for in law,

Therefore, be it resolved that the California Republican Party condemns the California State Board of Education's adoption of these unconstitutional, illegal, small-minded regulations, urges their immediate repeal, and urges that every California Legislator who supports freedom of thought in our schools and opposes state government actively engaging in religious discrimination to contact the State Board demanding the regulations' immediate repeal and

Be it further resolved that the California Republican Party will post this resolution on its website and send a copy of this resolution to every member of the California Legislature, all California constitutional officers, all members of the California State Board of Education, political and educational writers in California's major news media, and other interested parties as determined by California Republican Party leaders. CPR

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and Janice Brown, displayed the courage, principle, and conviction to disapprove of S.B. 143, on grounds it violated separation of powers. Brown described S.B. 143 as "legislative impudence." The majority, however, led by Ron George, found the statute did not "materially impair" the Supreme Court's inherent power over attorney admission and discipline.

How could Ron George possibly conclude that John Burton's hijacking of the judicial appointment process was tolerable? Is it a coincidence that the Legislature just authorized a $144 million increase in the judiciary's budget, including an 8.5 percent pay raise for judges, which George had declared to be his top priority? Perhaps not. Janice Brown's dissent complained that "today's ruling marks the third time in as many months a majority has willingly ceded constitutional ground" to the Legislature. (George wrote one of these decisions and concurred in the other.) Brown continued: "The legislation examined here shows disrespect for this Court as a coordinate branch of government. The majority's abject acceptance of [S.B. 143] goes far beyond comity and cooperation. This is abdication."

Thus, the "not a task for wimps" remark. Harsh words, but well deserved. It appears Ron George willingly played Monica Lewinsky to Burton's Bill Clinton as the price for judicial pay raises, at the expense of structurally weakening the judicial branch. The precedent established by S.B. 143 is ominous. Brown's dissent acerbically but accurately points out that "It is equivalent to this Court appointing the membership of legislative committees." Your correspondent has called Ron George an "unprincipled opportunist" ("Ron George Strikes Again," *CPR,* March/April 2000), and he is living up to that description. George's judicial memoirs could accurately be titled *Profiles in Expediency.*

No one will accuse Ninth Circuit Judge Alex Kozinski of being a wimp. In *Idaho v. Horiuchi,* he wrote a blistering dissenting opinion to the majority's decision upholding the dismissal of criminal charges against Lon Horiuchi, the FBI sniper who killed Vicki Weaver (while she was holding a baby in her arms) during the Ruby Ridge siege. Kozinski's dissent was so passionate that it was reprinted verbatim in the lively libertarian journal, *Liberty.* Kozinski's *tour de force* ended on this note:

> Perhaps most troubling, the [majority] opinion waters down the constitutional standard for the use of deadly force by giving officers a license to kill even when there is no immediate threat to human life, so long as the suspect is retreating to "take up a defensive position." *This has never been the law in this circuit, or anywhere else I'm aware of — except James Bond movies. Because the 007 standard for the use of deadly force now applies to all law enforcement agencies in our circuit — federal, state and local — it should make us all feel less secure.* In an effort to protect a defendant who lost his head and acted in a patently unconstitutional manner, the majority has materially weakened the standard that heretofore constrained all law enforcement personnel in the Ninth Circuit. Because I fear this change in our long-standing law, I must register my dissent. *(Emphasis added.)*

Your correspondent was not the only legal com-

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mentator to recognize the significance of Justice Clarence Thomas' U.S. Supreme Court dissent in *Avis Rent A Car System v. Aguilar* ("It's Often Lonely, Being Right," *CPR*, July/August 2000). *Aguilar* began as a bad California Supreme Court decision (and was discussed, before it went to the U.S. Supreme Court, in my November/December 1999 column, "Slouching Toward the Middle"). Authored by Ron George, it upheld "prior restraint" of politically incorrect workplace speech. *Village Voice* columnist Nat Hentoff, one of the few civil libertarians on the left who oppose "political correctness," wrote a piece in the *Legal Times* hailing Clarence Thomas as a champion of free speech, and denouncing the California Supreme Court's decision in *Aguilar* as an "unprecedented gag rule," a "pernicious example," and an "unprecedentedly broad prior restraint of free speech." CPR

THE MIDNIGHT ECONOMIST

Political Voting and Economic Voting

Voting with dollars is infinitely neater and more precise.

WILLIAM R. ALLEN

ALL WHO are pure in civic heart proclaim voting to be a splendid institution. Through voting, citizens reveal their collective preferences and judgments concerning many candidates and a variety of referendum issues. But there is *economic* voting as well as *political* voting, and devotees of the latter do not invariably applaud the former.

In the political polling-place, we vote with ballots. In the economic market-place, we vote with dollars. The socialists among us sarcastically note that in the political realm we have one-*man*-one-vote, whereas in the commercial market, it is one-*dollar*-one-vote — and some people have more dollars than others have.

Socialists find it less convenient to note that the ballot vote is a much clumsier, less satisfying way to register preferences than is the dollar vote. We cast ballots from time to time for a politician. If our candidate loses, we are essentially unrepresented. Even if our candidate wins, we still are not likely to acquire just what we want, for, first, the politician will not always do what we prefer on the myriad issues he faces during his term, and, second, even when he does vote as we would have voted, he may be outvoted by other politicians.

Voting with dollars is infinitely neater and more precise. In the economic market, we pick and reject, choose and decline among innumerable alternatives every day. There is no periodically chosen intermediary, standing between us and the goods and services, as in the political world. We make our own economic decisions, directly and continuously.

Day by day, we buy this instead of that, we buy a little this time, a lot next time, and none the time after that, as our fortunes, our tastes, and our known options evolve. Much better than in the political world we know what the economic products are, and we have vastly greater choice in what we buy, in what quantities, and in how purchases are financed. And there are no warranties or refunds in the political market.

Economic "efficiency" is much more than a matter of engineering. Technological, physical input-output efficiency obviously is important. Less obvious but even more fundamental is another aspect of efficiency, namely, production in accordance with preferences of the individuals who make up the community. The market provides a mechanism for constantly, precisely recording community preferences and a process for effectively directing resources toward the indicated preferences.

But government, in the nature of even "representa-

William R. Allen, in observing the world from the UCLA Department of Economics, notes that there are markets and markets, and voting and voting.

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tional" government, *cannot* be so precisely efficient in directing the use of the community's resources to reflect the community's preferences. Government does have command over vast resources, to be sure, but how is it to be determined how to use them? What criteria are to be applied? Whose preferences are to prevail? It would be utterly astonishing to find that the preferences of Big Brother happen to coincide, persistently and exactly, with the shifting, evolving preferences of his serfs. And if Big Brother is simply the personification of the serfs, why have Big Brother at all?

In the economic market-place, we are voluntary consumers, using our own wealth for our own purposes by our own criteria. In the political realm, we are very largely involuntary subjects, in a position of pay-your-taxes, obey-bureaucratic-directives, and-like-it. When we speak of economic efficiency, found only through the market, we speak also of personal freedom.

THE WORKING PRESS

A Journalistic Split Personality

The housing crunch reveals a confounding tension pitting New Urbanism against old Preservationism/Environmentalism. What's a Progressive to do?

TIM W. FERGUSON

CALIFORNIA IN full economic flower still sprouts many crises to boot (the water shortage is back, have you noticed?) but none seems to be getting fuller press than the housing crunch. Calculations of a shortfall of homes are approaching one million. Everyone wants everyone else to have a decent place to live, but the problem is, no one wants that place to be crowding his own home, or congesting his drive to work, or spoiling his nearby countryside. In other words, this is a perfect crisis — a continuing one.

On the one hand, the working press is for a progressive, New Urbanist solution: concentrated in-fill housing along mass transit lines. Planning experts entrance reporters with this. But then the press — usually a different group of reporters — gets an earful from neighbors of proposed developments who lay out the horrors of "historic" buildings being razed or pockets of precious open space being lost. Plus there are sometimes toxins in the soil and lawsuits lurking beneath. The result is perpetual standoff. Periodically some "affordable" units are extorted out of a developer in return for approval of market-priced housing, but these come in token amounts and are just a reshuffling of the new housing deck in any case. There's just no consensus to build, and, on the flip side of the equation, only a vague wish to hold back the numbers of new Californians demanding shelter. (Proposition 187 had that implied purpose, but the working press didn't like that idea.)

The statewide ban on confiscatory rent control has helped spur some urban apartment construction, but it, too, is a drop in the nail bucket. In fact, only one systematic in-fill housing effort is under way in California, and that is the replacement of older, modest dwellings in highly desired communities (such as the quaint cottages in some beach towns) with "monster homes" or "McMansions" that stand over time to increase the population density per lot — usually by getting rid of yards and replacing them with upper floor patios. These, naturally, are now the targets of neighborhood objectors and their Category 2 journalists.

There are only two ways California is going to escape this housing crisis: Another good long recession, or a Robert Moses-type. The notorious original performed "urban renewal" on New York in the middle decades of the last century, by making development happen in spite of resistance (legitimate or not).

Despite endless flackery, genuine fervor and clever

Tim W. Ferguson is California Political Review's *press critic.*

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financing schemes, it is doubtful that state Treasurer Phil Angelides is going to be housing's Moses. To become that, he would need to pit himself against homeowner groups and local officials across the state. He will be happy to be join the chorus against leapfrog development of the hinterlands, but when the NIMBYs turn their anger on a high-density project down the block, don't expect Angelides to go wasting political capital he needs to be governor someday by fighting them (as it were) in the streets. Of course, he and other state officials will be happy to keep foisting silly housing obligation numbers on those same localities, but when have those quotas led to any appreciable housing activity?

So look for property values for the current homeowner class to continue to skyrocket while the striving, renting newcomers fall further behind. This, to be sure, adds to a bigger gap between the rich and poor in California — yet another crisis!

♣ ♣ ♣

The battle for Bay Area eyes between the *San Jose Mercury* and the *San Francisco Chronicle* turned into trench warfare this summer as the *Merc* hit The City with a full-on invasion. Although this will provide economic competition for the *Chron,* the question of political diversity is yet to be answered. No one expects the sober *Merc* to adopt a conservative editorial stance, but a simple journalistic itch to challenge the hegemony of Willie Brown, his cronies, and the Burton machine would be a start. Anybody placing bets?

♣ ♣ ♣

Meantime, the *San Francisco Examiner* in its dying days as Hearst's "Monarch" went off the political deep end. Lefty hit man Robert Salladay filed a long news analysis (?) that began, "Texas Gov. George W. Bush believes social salvation can be found in the tax code." From that snide tone you can infer the rest of the 40 paragraphs.

♣ ♣ ♣

Wendy McCaw, ex-wife of cellular phone tycoon Craig McCaw and a sort of billionaire Barbara Kingsolver, has bought the *Santa Barbara News-Press* from the New York Times Co. You'd think from her public political passions she'd be a Green, but the *LA Times* reported she's a registered Libertarian. Go figure. But another little-observed aspect of the bidding was that Copley, the otherwise dormant owners of the *San Diego Union* and a few smaller papers, were in the hunt. What was this historically conservative outfit thinking? Or is Santa Barbara a model for the editorial future of San Diego?

♣ ♣ ♣

The new regime at Tribune Co.'s *Times* went shopping at the *New York Times* for a managing editor, Dean Baquet, who distinguished himself in investigative journalism in Chicago. That and other moves stirred hope that the Los Angeles paper was going to get serious about covering news instead of maintaining a sandbox for grievances and posturing in the newsroom. Some undistinguished editors were moved out without having designated landing spots. And observers of various political persuasions applauded the early moves. New top editor John Carroll, brought in from the *Baltimore Sun,* must hardly know what department to shake up first. One candidate is the national political desk, where the *Times* embarrassingly was beaten by the *Washington Post* on the move by lame duck Congressman Marty Martinez to leave the Democrat Party that spurned him in the March primary. The *Times* for ages has maintained only a passing acquaintance with most members of the California delegation.

♣ ♣ ♣

Talk about a silver lining! Herbert Sample of the *Sacramento Bee* gave state Republicans some rare succor with a rundown of the minefields Democrats must dodge as they ram a Congressional gerrymander through the one-party statehouse. The difficulties mainly stem from squaring their racial and ethnic spoils obligations with the protection of incumbents like Howard Berman and Maxine Waters. (Burgeoning Latino populations are the cause of the concern.) And get this ... if the Dems knock off James Rogan and Steve Kuykendall, their problems get worse!

♣ ♣ ♣

As summer faded, a journalistic opportunity awaited for someone in the mainstream press to report how Tim Draper's vainglorious voucher initiative had made a hash of the school choice movement in California.

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Censoring books in school

Violation or protection?

by Dwight Thompson

Schools across San Diego County have recently been embroiled in heated debate regarding library books used in their accelerated reading programs. Some parents express outrage at the explicit sexual language; others contend that outlawing any written material harks back to the book-burning days of Salem. Is banning books with strong sexual content good judgment, or is it a violation of a child's civil rights?

AGE-APPROPRIATE CENSORSHIP

The refusal of a parent to feed an infant steak, lobster, and beer is not a violation of the baby's civil rights. It is simply a matter of proper parenting. By the same token, a fourth grader can't digest terms such as orgasm, masturbation, exhibitionism, lesbianism, and nymphomania. Limiting children's reading material is not a violation of their rights. It is a protection of their innocence. Even local theaters censor attendance according to age. Should not local school districts do the same?

SCHOOL DISCIPLINE

A double standard exists when schools suspend or expel a child for using four-letter expletives, then reward the child for reading books containing the same four-letter expletives. Educators send mixed signals and contribute to future behavior problems when they encourage children to read books whose highlighted teenage characters are foul-mouthed, little brats. Educational psychologists realize that books help shape children's sense of right and wrong and help form patterns of speech and aggression as well.

ENTERTAINMENT VS. EDUCATION

While honing their reading skills, children can learn about the history of our great country, about its war heroes who gave their lives for our freedom, about its inventors, explorers, and space travelers. They can learn about nature. They can find mystery, intrigue, drama, romance, and high adventure in thousands of books for children that expand their imagination, inspire patriotism, and build character. Why must schools include books featuring doped-up teenagers, hopping in and out of bed with each other at random, whose biggest mental challenge is trying to decide if they want to be "gay" or "straight"? (*Just Friends* and *Baby Be Bop)* What is our goal in selecting our schools' library books? To educate or titillate? Is it to prepare children for the future, or to entertain them for the present?

THE 'REAL WORLD'

One rationale often used for allowing children to read books with inappropriate sexual content is that "it's part of the real world." Using this logic, paperbacks in the adult bookstore should be permissible, because such material likewise depicts the real world — albeit one containing coprophilia, necrophilia, bestiality, sado-masochism, and other demeaning sexual practices. No thinking individual can really believe that the mere existence of heinous activity is justification for making such material available to little children.

SEX EDUCATION

It is hypocritical for schools to proclaim they have an "abstinence-based, family-life program," while they encourage children to read books glamorizing teenage sexual free-for-alls. Such books not only mock meaningful relationships and responsible behavior, but encourage premature experimentation as well. Only books

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with redeeming social values will reinforce a healthy sex education curriculum.

A Pacific Research Institute study ranked California's public schools an embarrassing 47th nationally in reading skills. According to PRI, only 16 percent of California fourth graders in 1999 reached the "proficient" level on the National Assessment of Educational Progress reading scores, and more than half rated "below basic." Regarding reading, our schools have an image crisis that will only worsen if local school boards fail to eliminate books inconsistent with community standards. And if they show fear and apathy regarding this problem, they will accelerate the exodus of families from public schools to the burgeoning private and home school movements.

Dropout Crisis

Surprise! Education Department fudged the figures for years!

by Carl Brodt and Alan Bonsteel

THE NOVEMBER ballot's Proposition 38, a school choice initiative, could reshape California K-12 education fundamentally. Governor Gray Davis argues voters should reject the initiative as unneeded because, he promises, fundamental change is *just* around the corner in any case, brought by lavish new state spending made possible by California's turbocharged high-technology economy and a state Legislature ready to move forward on educational policy. Should we give the educrats yet another chance?

Consider the question in light of their record regarding school dropouts, an area in which California lags behind almost every other state in the nation: California loses more than a *third* of its high school students every year to dropping out, a central factor in creating the growing economic gulf between the state's "Dot Com" haves and the burger-flipping, mop jockeying have-nots.

Although academic experts have long known of the problem, phony dropout rate numbers from the California Department of Education hid the crisis for years. California tries to determine its dropout rate by counting every dropout individually. The California Department of Education relies on self-reported, unaudited reports of individual dropouts from each school district. District staff, whose interests are served by low dropout rate reports, have little incentive to count students who disappear over summer vacation, and so they often conveniently assume, without verification, that students transferring to other towns enroll in the new local school.

The California Department of Education used to report the official 4-year high school dropout rate: the number of students who began, but never finished, high school. But, in the mid-nineties, the Department began reporting the one-year dropout rate (dividing the four-year rate by four, producing the illusion of a 75 percent decrease) without informing the public what it was doing. Thus, in June of 1998, the Department breathlessly reported that California's dropout rate had declined to 3.2 percent!

In the fall of 1998, school choice advocates Alan Bonsteel, M.D., co-author of the book *A Choice for Our Children;* Carlos Bonilla, Ph.D., the author of two books on dropouts; and Lance Izumi of the Pacific Research Institute, author of the *California Index of Leading Education Indicators,* petitioned the State Board to reform dropout rate reporting. They focused on graduation rates, which told a radically different story than that told by the official line.

LIKE A couple that puts $1000 in a checking account at the beginning of the month, verifies with the bank at the end of the month how much money is left, and deduces how much money they must have spent, graduation rates — and their flip side, attrition

Carl Brodt is a Certified Management Accountant and is the treasurer of California Parents for Educational Choice. Alan Bonsteel, M.D., is the co-author of A Choice for Our Children: Curing the Crisis in America's Schools *(ICS Press, 1997).*

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rates — give us a good general idea of how many kids were casualties of the system. California's current graduation rate was 67.2 percent in the 1997-98 school year, with 32.8 percent of our kids not graduating from high school.

THE BOARD, at the time composed of reform-minded Pete Wilson appointees, mandated reforms in dropout rate reporting for the 1999 California Department of Education press release. These reforms brought about that great rarity in government — an admission of a mistake. The June 1999 acknowledgment by the California Department of Education that California was losing *ten times* the number of kids through dropping out that it had previously admitted was front-page news in almost every newspaper in the state.

Defenders of the phony dropout numbers groused that focusing on graduation rates overstated the dropout problem. It was just not as bad as it appeared. Graduation rates do not take into account "mobility" (students transferring out of state), students who die, or students who graduate with a GED or go onto junior college without a high school diploma.

To answer these critics, we prepared a study analyzing the 1998-99 dropout data. Because of enrollment growth (the "mobility" issue cuts both ways), the analysis of the true statewide dropout rate produced a result opposite to that the defenders of the phony numbers expected. The study produced a figure actually *higher* than the attrition rate estimate: a staggering 34.6 percent — a number that does not even count the small but especially tragic numbers of children who drop out before even reaching high school.

The California Department of Education responded in June 2000 by admitting, finally, that it did not have accurate numbers on dropouts. The Department told education writers it is hoping to implement a computerized California Student Information System (CSIS) to get the data. Department spokesmen predicted the system will produce accurate dropout numbers within five years, implying, of course, that the public should not worry too much about the problem until the Department could quantify it, and then that it should be given another five years to get its arms around it, with perhaps another five or 10 to bring it under control.

Even the request for CSIS, though, was nothing more than a disingenuous attempt to deflect public concern from the problem. In fact, as recently as last year, the estimated operational date for CSIS was 10 years off, not five, and the system is voluntary: failure of even a few large districts to participate would render invalid all the state numbers. And in Louisiana, which has implemented such a system, the final dropout numbers reported ended up around where that state's disastrously high attrition numbers already were.

FAILURE TO acknowledge the severity of California's dropout problem is not limited to state Department of Education officials. At the public school district level, one district staff after another responded to reporters' inquiries about our study by saying that, whereas dropouts were a big problem throughout the state, this district staff had the problem under control, proving their case by citing the same phony dropout rates already discredited at the state level.

Until it admits the severity of the dropout problem, the public school establishment will never seriously addresses it, and that admission is years away, if it comes at all. Yet each year the public school establishment ignores the problem is another year of dooming more of its children to illiteracy and a future of as-

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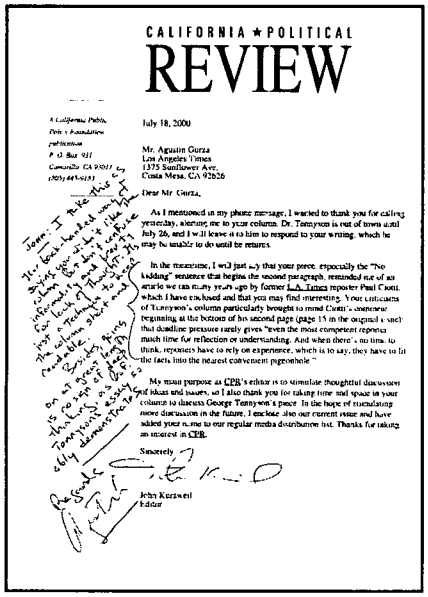
CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

der evidently pains him something awful, for he responded with an irritated, hand-written scribble on the same page I had sent him. (Shall we launch the Agustin Gurza Stationery Charitable



CALIFORNIA ★ POLITICAL
REVIEW

July 18, 2000

Mr. Agustin Gurza
Los Angeles Times
1375 Sunflower Ave.
Costa Mesa, CA 92626

Dear Mr. Gurza,

As I mentioned on my phone message, I wanted to thank you for calling yesterday, alerting me to your column. Dr. Tennyson is out of town until July 26, and I will leave it to him to respond to your writing, which he may be unable to do until he returns.

In the meantime, I will just say that your piece, especially the "No kidding" sentence that begins the second paragraph, reminded me of an article we ran many years ago by former L.A. Times reporter Paul Ciotti, which I have enclosed and that you may find interesting. Your criticisms of Tennyson's column particularly brought to mind Ciotti's statement beginning at the bottom of his second page (page 15 in the original) that deadline pressure rarely gives "even the most competent reporter much time for reflection or understanding. And when there's no time to think, reporters have to rely on experience, which is to say, they have to fit the facts into the nearest convenient pigeonhole."

My main purpose as CPR's editor is to stimulate thoughtful discussion of ideas and issues, so I also thank you for taking time and space in your column to discuss George Tennyson's piece. In the hope of stimulating more discussion in the future, I enclose also our current issue and have added your name to our regular media distribution list. Thanks for taking an interest in CPR.

Sincerely,

John Kerrwell
Editor

Time to launch the Agustin Gurza Stationery Charitable Fund?

Fund?) The full contents of his note appear in Mr. Tennyson's column. The operative sentence, to me, was:

John: I take this as your backhanded way of saying you didn't like the column ....

So, I take this opportunity to try once more ....

Dear Mr. Gurza:

It was not a way of being backhanded; it was the way of charity. What were the possible explanations for your wild inaccuracy in writing that Mr. Tennyson made his recommendation with "no kidding"? One, you really believed it — not possible, you're not that dumb. Two, you are a Step-and-Fetchit to Political Correctness — not nice, you would have to be devoid of integrity. Three, you hadn't time to read carefully and despite your best efforts to inform your readers accurately, you honestly misread the column. I notice a recent "Letter to the Times" in which one Katheryn Macias of Montebello feels it necessary to ask "when was the last time Agustin Gurza had any form of contact with our local Latino street thugs or gangsters, whom he claims 'never beat up on women' (Aug. 15). I'm sure if he would go down to the Twin Towers jail he would find at least a handful of local gang members in jail for beating up a woman ...."

So it is plain that deadline stress is an ongoing problem, even as Mr. Ciotti said it was. In charity, I will continue to assume that is your difficulty.

A Great Leader, please, for S.D.I.

There are times when great leaders can challenge the nation for a worthy goal. John F. Kennedy challenged our country in the early '60s by declaring that we would put a "man on the moon by the end of the decade." We by no means had the technology to achieve that goal, but by the end of that decade, we did it. That was a great moment in history, not just for our country but for all of humanity.

Now we have the challenge of the Strategic Defense Initiative. We are hearing the same skeptics as with the space program. They say it will cost too much and that we don't have the technology. They ask what good it will do.

I would say that if we had great leaders to challenge us to lofty goals, we would have an S.D.I. program implemented in five years. The only difference is, unlike the space program, S.D.I. may protect and save our way of life. That is a worthy goal for us and all of humanity.

Edward M. Laning
Oak Hills

CPR's editor responds:

S.D.I. should certainly be built, but I take issue with the perception, apparently growing among Republicans and even conservatives, that John Kennedy was a "great leader." Yes, compared to today's Democrats in office, Kennedy nearly shines, but as much could be said about at least nine-tenths of the population. In his day, Kennedy was a doctrinaire liberal, dependably toeing the Party Line. That he looks relatively good today is merely a function of the iron rule of leftism: yesterday's bufoonеries are insufficient for today — we must go further. Notice John's brother Ted, who once was "prolife" — even eloquently so — and now ... well we know what he is now. A truly Great Leader would have liberated Cuba as Ronald Reagan did Grenada, El Salvador, and Nicaragua, and would never have betrayed the Cuban patriots who trusted him, leaving them to die on the beaches at the Bay of Pigs. Kennedy also set the stage for all the horrors of Vietnam. I know the myth of John F. Kennedy, though it's never been a friend of mine. And John F. Kennedy, the real man, was no John F. Kennedy, figure of the myth.

Lighten Up

Fifty percent of conservatives are pro-choice. Please lighten up.

Donald G. Buchanan
Sebastopol

CPR's editor responds:

One-hundred percent of abortions kill innocent human beings. Exactly what part of this atrocity should we lighten up about?

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bestos removal, garbage collection, welfare dependency, and time behind bars.

Proposition 38 would open the doors to children left behind by public schools today and tomorrow. Just the opportunity to attend smaller and safer private schools may well cut the dropout rate as much as one-sixth, since a sixth of those who have dropped out say they did so at least in part because they are afraid to attend their neighborhood public high school or its associated continuation school. But even if these children so damaged by the public school system do not all return to high school, Proposition 38 promises to avoid damaging more children in the future. School choice would place more children in safe schools, where their families see value and the children feel they belong. And that is the way to lower the state's real dropout rate.

Something is Amiss

Clinton's youthful loathing for the military bears rotten fruit today.

by Leon McKinney

MEMBERS OF the U.S. armed forces have not flooded the President Bill Clinton fan club," began August 14's St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* lead editorial, with marked understatement. The editorial admitted that military personnel resent "Mr. Clinton's youthful maneuvering to avoid going to Vietnam" — usually the jumping-off point for a standard *Post-Dispatch* lecture on how past and present armed forces types should let bygones be bygones and forgive Clinton his "youthful maneuvering." But this time the *Post-Dispatch* took a different tack, concluding that because the military dislikes Clinton and, therefore, presumably would not lie to protect him, refutations by Pentagon brass of George W. Bush's GOP convention charge that two U.S. Army divisions were not combat-ready deserve our respectful assent. "Something clearly is amiss," intoned *P-D's* editors, but with Bush, not with the Army.

After eight years of Clinton, can we thus assume our military leaders would tell the truth if it reflected badly on this administration? Looking at it another way, what chance is there that an honest, out-spoken, and loyally-patriotic top military man *could* remain so near the top after eight years of Clinton? And what, conversely, are the chances that, under this president, that *his* Secretary of Defense, William Cohen, *his* Joint Chiefs of Staff, and *his* top civilian and uniformed Pentagon brass believe their duty to country outweighs the call, when it comes, to cover for Bill Clinton?

Reach your own conclusions, but first off, George W. Bush and Dick Cheney are right: Clinton has decimated the military. In 1981, Reagan's first year, 2.12 million uniformed personnel were in the military; in George Bush's first year (1989), there were 2.17 million. With the collapse of the Soviet Empire, President Bush reduced the number of uniformed military personnel a reasonable amount — 16 percent — from the 1987 peak of 2.21 million to 1.85 million by the end of 1992. But Clinton, who says all the reduction was done by President Bush and his Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, actually ordered a further 25 percent cut to 1.39 million.

Budgets tell the same story. In constant 2000 dollars, the national defense budget went from $274 billion in 1981 to a peak of $393 billion in 1989, then down by 12 percent to $347 billion in 1992, again reflecting the collapse of the Soviet Empire. And again, Clinton lies when he implies all the cuts were done before he showed up — he chopped another 20 percent, to bottom-out at $276 billion in 1998.

After Bush's speech, the Pentagon quickly trotted out someone to say that the two divisions Bush mentioned, though they had indeed previously been declared not combat-ready, were now just fine. It was all a "temporary" problem due to "scheduling questions" (*i.e.* we couldn't move the two divisions quickly enough to fight a war). But other, more concrete evidence is emerging. Consider the plight of our Air Force, which Clinton orders into action at the drop of ... well, you finish it. Under Clinton, the average age of Air

Leon McKinney is an engineering consultant in St. Louis, Missouri.

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by Leon McKinney

MEMBERS OF the U.S. armed forces have not flooded the President Bill Clinton fan club," began August 14's St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* lead editorial, with marked understatement. The editorial admitted that military personnel resent "Mr. Clinton's youthful maneuvering to avoid going to Vietnam" — usually the jumping-off point for a standard *Post-Dispatch* lecture on how past and present armed forces types should let bygones be bygones and forgive Clinton his "youthful maneuvering." But this time the *Post-Dispatch* took a different tack, concluding that because the military dislikes Clinton and, therefore, presumably would not lie to protect him, refutations by Pentagon brass of George W. Bush's GOP convention charge that two U.S. Army divisions were not combat-ready deserve our respectful assent. "Something clearly is amiss," intoned *P-D's* editors, but with Bush, not with the Army.

After eight years of Clinton, can we thus assume our military leaders would tell the truth if it reflected badly on this administration? Looking at it another way, what chance is there that an honest, out-spoken, and loyally-patriotic top military man *could* remain so near the top after eight years of Clinton? And what, conversely, are the chances that, under this president, that *his* Secretary of Defense, William Cohen, *his* Joint Chiefs of Staff, and *his* top civilian and uniformed Pentagon brass believe their duty to country outweighs the call, when it comes, to cover for Bill Clinton?

Reach your own conclusions, but first off, George W. Bush and Dick Cheney are right: Clinton has decimated the military. In 1981, Reagan's first year, 2.12 million uniformed personnel were in the military; in George Bush's first year (1989), there were 2.17 million. With the collapse of the Soviet Empire, President Bush reduced the number of uniformed military personnel a reasonable amount — 16 percent — from the 1987 peak of 2.21 million to 1.85 million by the end of 1992. But Clinton, who says all the reduction was done by President Bush and his Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, actually ordered a further 25 percent cut to 1.39 million.

Budgets tell the same story. In constant 2000 dollars, the national defense budget went from $274 billion in 1981 to a peak of $393 billion in 1989, then down by 12 percent to $347 billion in 1992, again reflecting the collapse of the Soviet Empire. And again, Clinton lies when he implies all the cuts were done before he showed up — he chopped another 20 percent, to bottom-out at $276 billion in 1998.

After Bush's speech, the Pentagon quickly trotted out someone to say that the two divisions Bush mentioned, though they had indeed previously been declared not combat-ready, were now just fine. It was all a "temporary" problem due to "scheduling questions" (*i.e.* we couldn't move the two divisions quickly enough to fight a war). But other, more concrete evidence is emerging. Consider the plight of our Air Force, which Clinton orders into action at the drop of ... well, you finish it. Under Clinton, the average age of Air

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Force fighters has doubled, from 7 to 14 years; the average age of all Air Force aircraft has increased by 40 percent, from 15 to 21 years. Worse, the "mission-capable rate" — the percentage of aircraft capable of flying — has slumped from 83 percent right after Desert Storm, when we flew aircraft to their breaking points, to 73 percent right before Kosovo. The Air Force budget has been cut by 30 percent from $100 billion in 1990 to $70 billion. The same story holds for the other services as well.

Unfortunately, the problem with our military goes beyond numbers and dollars. Since January 1993, I've talked with a hundred or more active-duty and retired military officers, ranging from lieutenants to lieutenant generals. They all despise Bill Clinton, recalling his draft-dodging, leading anti-war protests on KGB-sponsored bus tours of Europe, and writing the University of Arkansas ROTC commander that he identified with baby boomer brats "loving their country but loathing the military."

THE FIRST week of Clinton's first term didn't do much to dispel the atmosphere of mutual loathing. Three-star Lt. Gen. Barry McCaffrey, who served with distinction on four combat tours, including Vietnam twice, was walking out of the White House southwest gate and said "good morning" to a young woman entering the gate; she replied, "I don't talk to the military!" Since McCaffrey and his people couldn't identify the woman as a specific White House employee, Clinton declared the snub never happened, even though it was quickly determined that the woman was a Hillary staffer — an early taste of Clinton's brazen lying. Clinton's people immediately recognized the potential damage, and *hesto presto,* we saw photos of Clinton jogging

Soldiers complaining about their officers is an ancient and honorable tradition, but today we see something different.

with McCaffrey, followed a few months later by McCaffrey's promotion over more senior candidates to head the U.S. Southern Command and became the youngest four-star Army general ever. McCaffrey continued to toe the Clinton party line about the snub and was rewarded in 1996 with the directorship of the White House's Office of National Drug Control Policy, where he gets to pretend he's leading the national war on drugs while surrounded by *Clintonistas* who for three years refused to undergo security background investigations that included drug testing. Some say these folks were doing drugs every weekend. Who knows? One thing is sure — McCaffrey is not popular with the military folk I talk to.

CLINTON LEARNED from the McCaffrey episode that he could buy off some military brass with promotions. The brass, in turn, learned that playing ball with Clinton earned them puff pieces in their former mortal media enemies the *Washington Post* and *New York Times* and invitations to Georgetown cocktail parties. Generals and admirals who didn't play ball saw their careers stalled, and retired in droves; those who threatened to go public with what they knew about our disintegrating military and Clinton's abuses of power were threatened with loss of their pensions and benefits. After eight years of Clinton versus our military (including his Chinese espionage-and-missiles-for-campaign-cash scandal), it appears what remains is in large measure a corps of generals and admirals who salute and say "Yes, Sir!" when ordered to bomb Sudan and Afghanistan the day of Monica Lewinsky's grand jury testimony, to bomb Iraq to stave off an impeachment vote, to bomb Kosovo when the scope of Clinton's treason with China begins to become clear.

Soldiers complaining about their commanding officers is an ancient and honorable tradition, but today we see something different: from enlisted maintenance personnel sweating underneath F-16 fighters to generals sitting at desks within the Pentagon's air-conditioned maze, there's a thinly-veiled consensus that America's top generals and admirals have betrayed the people they command. "Something is amiss" indeed.

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DEMOCRATS MUDDLE THEIR STEREOTYPES

Al Gore, Country Boy

Al Gore's secret past — so shocking to refined tastes — probably had to come out. But who thought one of his best friends would expose it?

BY DENNIS HOLLINGSWORTH

The Democrat National Convention featured the usual attempts to impress the American people with the "Star Power" of the Democrat Party. One speech in particular, given by Al Gore's Harvard roommate and movie star friend, Tommy Lee Jones, was notable for some curious content. Now many of you may know that Tommy Lee Jones is a native Texan and purportedly owns a working cattle ranch. What probably came as a big surprise to most conservatives, and as an absolute shock to the liberal DNC delegates, was that their presidential nominee was once a gun-toting country hillbilly.

Jones' remarks included some rem-

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iniscing about their college break trips to the Gore home in Carthage, Tennessee. (Actually, Gore's family comes from Possum Hollow, Tennessee, but, just like the man from Hot Springs, Arkansas, was transformed into The Man from Hope, — well, it's just *déjà vu* all over again, isn't it?) Jones talked about he and Gore chasing down loose cows, (oh puuhleease,) and, shockingly, Al Gore "challenging me [Jones] to shooting contests"! With Gore usually winning!

'COON DOGS AT NIGHT

Jones went on to say that he and Al would "chase behind 'coon dogs at night" — Mr. Earth in the Balance hunting poor, defenseless raccoons? I hope the Jr. Ecologist utilized his quarry responsibly. Since one usually doesn't eat raccoon, the thing to do is to make a fur hat of the critter. What does PETA, the animal rights Nazi group that was vandalizing fur shops along the streets surrounding the convention the day before this speech, think of all this?

Now, I believe one can change his opinion about such things over a span of decades. Al has proven that with his flip-flops on the life and tobacco issues. Also, one notes this was the wild and wooly sixties, and liberals were indulging in all kinds of crazy things — but guns and hunting? I'm shocked. Yet Gore hasn't repented of his animal hunting and gun-toting. And this speech, at his most important coming-out party, seems to have been intended to highlight both.

Most importantly, how does Gore square his using guns as a youth with his extreme anti-gun views today? Was this a youthful indiscretion? I think not, or Jones wouldn't have mentioned it at such a carefully-scripted venue. No, this is just typical liberal double-think.

Dennis Hollingsworth is the Republican nominee for California's 66th Assembly District, and unrepentantly exercises his Second Amendment rights on a regular basis. He even admits to chasing a few errant cows on his family's dairy farm himself (in his youth, of course).

What does PETA, the animal rights Nazi group that was vandalizing fur shops along the streets surrounding the convention the day before this speech, think of all this?

Liberal elitism and double-think is most glaringly apparent in their views against the Second Amendment. "It's quite all right for me to have my guns, but you common folk can't be trusted with such a heavy responsibility." — Come to think of it, that sums up the liberal attitude on just about everything: guns, taxes, free speech, private property, raising your own children (it takes a government, er, village), SUVs, tobacco. You name it.

All of this begs the question: Just who is Al Gore? Is he a Harvard-educated liberal wonk, or is he a down-home country boy who "all you boys really can trust not to take your guns away"? Gore has, by all accounts, spent a lifetime putting one foot in middle Tennessee and the other in the Fairfax Hotel, (his actual boyhood home in Washington, D.C.) and finds it hard to play being both Bubba and the Politician like his mentor, Bill Clinton.

WANNABE REDNECKS

Al Gore's likely defense will be that he has no problem with guns for hunting, and so on. What liberals hate to admit is that hunting is a side benefit we all enjoy as part of the fundamental right we have to self-defense. "The right of the people to keep and bear arms" — that's the liberty the Second Amendment says shall not be infringed. This particular precious liberty guarantees each of us our own self-sufficiency — the kind of thing that rubs liberals the wrong way. And it's a right of every individual. It's a basic right even for internally conflicted wannabe redneck liberals from Possum Hollow, Tennessee, trying to become president.

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The Goldfinger Principle

by David C. Stolinsky, MD

IN THE film *Goldfinger,* the villain is about to slice James Bond in half with a laser. Bond asks, "Do you expect me to talk?" Goldfinger replies, "No, Mr. Bond, I expect you to die." Bond is still in a precarious situation, but at least he now knows what Goldfinger has in mind. Most of us do not have the misfortune to face being cut in two, but we also do not have the luck of being informed exactly what our opponent intends.

Will our angry boss be placated by more work, or will he be satisfied only by getting rid of us? Will a rapist be content if we submit, or will he kill us afterward? Will a nation be satiated by territorial concessions, or is it bent on destroying its neighbor? Without psychic powers we cannot know, so how should we formulate an informed guess?

The first thing to decide is whether those involved are friends trying to improve things, or enemies trying to make them worse. Many people insist that women be allowed in combat, even ground combat. Have these people been friends of the armed services? Have they favored appropriations for modern weapons, better training, and adequate pay? Usually the answer is no. We are entitled to ask, "You favored weakening the armed services in the past; is this your motive now?" Similarly, President Clinton says we have nothing to fear while China gains control of the Panama Canal and buys satellite, missile, and nuclear technology from us. We have a right to ask, "Have you valued national security in the past?" To paraphrase Stephen Hunter, it is difficult to argue national security with those who scarcely believe in the concept of nation, much less security.

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RECORD IS REVEALING

ON THE other hand, few have criticized our military policies as harshly as has Colonel David Hackworth. But he is one of our most highly decorated veterans. This does not guarantee that his comments are correct, but

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it does mean that they are sincerely intended to improve our soldiers' well-being. Again, the person's record is revealing.

HAVE THEY *LEARNED* ANYTHING?

IN ADDITION, we should ask whether the person has made an effort to learn anything at all about the subject in question. In 1980, while the ill-fated mission to rescue our hostages in Iran was being planned, the mission commander was asked what would happen if armed Iranians were encountered. He replied that they would be "taken out." Warren Christopher, then Deputy Secretary of State, asked why they had to be killed instead of merely shot in the shoulder. He was told that this was impossible and would endanger American lives. In 1991 Christopher chaired a commission investigating the Los Angeles Police following the Rodney King incident. When asked why armed suspects couldn't just have the guns shot out of their hands, Christopher replied that this should be considered. In a decade he had learned nothing, yet he again felt free to make unrealistic recommendations that would endanger the lives of those for whom he was responsible.

We have the right, indeed the duty, to use all available information. An informed guess is more likely to be right than one based on ignorance, naivete, or wishful thinking.

Finally, we should inquire how those involved reacted to similar situations in the past. For example, we are told the Arabs merely wish to regain the West Bank, Gaza, and Golan Heights that Israel captured in the 1967 war. Yet the Palestine Liberation Organization was founded in 1964, when these areas were in Arab hands and Israel was nine miles wide at its narrowest point. We have a right to ask, "You wanted Israel destroyed when these areas were in your hands, but you now say there will be peace if you get them back; based on this record, why should we believe you?"

Conservatives, especially those in business, tend to believe that all conflict is economic and can be resolved by trade agreements. Liberals, especially lawyers and academics, tend to believe that all conflict can be resolved by better communication. Can economics explain the fact that in both world wars Germany attacked France, its largest trading partner? Can poor communication explain nationalism in Asia, religious strife in the Middle East, or "ethnic cleansing" in Kosovo? Naive approaches to serious problems can be dangerous.

The danger, of course, is rarely endured by businessmen, lawyers, or academics, but by ordinary people. For example, eighteen U.S. soldiers were killed and 73 wounded when the State Department urged the capture of hostile Somali leaders in 1993. Some of these casualties might have been prevented if the troops had been supplied with the armored vehicles they had requested but were denied. The men they gave their lives to capture were soon released, and the United States withdrew. Other examples include the countless victims of foreign aggressors and domestic criminals whom we tried vainly to appease. Primitive societies sacrificed people to their false gods; we sacrifice people to our naive and impractical ideas. But we should know better.

AS OUTSPOKEN AS GOLDFINGER

We have the right, indeed the duty, to use all available information in formulating an informed guess as to what people intend, and then to act accordingly. True, people can change — otherwise of what use is religion, politics, or education? Our informed guess may prove to be wrong; we must be prepared to correct it if new information becomes available. Nevertheless, an informed guess is more likely to be right than one based on ignorance, naivete, or wishful thinking. We cannot assume that everyone who wishes us ill is as outspoken as Goldfinger.

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The Imponderable Al Gore

John Kurzweil

Democrats mystify Republicans. Here we see a corps of absolute moral basket-cases led by a borderline sociopath in the oval office. (If anyone finds the word "borderline" overgenerous, I won't argue the point.) They specialize in operations such as was performed on Senator Joseph Lieberman, forcing an apparently honorable man to recant his former beliefs, humiliatingly disavowing all trace of moral independence, and smilingly embracing the doctrine that, when the call comes, one's toe must march precisely along the Party Line, no matter how perverse its meanderings may come to be. Your soul is not your own. In addition, they champion Big Government always and everywhere, tightly embracing an endless list of failed programs and arrogant bureaucracies from the Post Office to the DMV to the IRS. But somehow they still manage, after intoning a few populist phrases, to emerge as the moral conscience of the nation and the political organization that millions of people, often a majority of Americans, trust ahead of Republicans to take on the job of governing.

I admire the *Wall Street Journal* editorial pages and do not relish the role of critic in their regard. But it is just because they exemplify what is best about Republicans and Republican ideas that those pages present one (although by no means the only possible) place to start considering why Democrats so mystify the GOP. Consider a recent article by Robert L. Bartley

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titled "Archaic Liberalism: Still a Winner?" about Al Gore's post-election "bounce" in the polls. I choose it largely at random; it just happened to appear the day I am writing this:

> ... almost no one any longer believes in an omniscient government, [wrote Mr. Bartley] solving problems by flipping dials in the capital.
>
> This inconvenient detail the Los Angeles orators managed blithely to ignore. As they saw it, their task was to describe problems. That the solution lay in government was taken for granted, an assumption never spoken, let alone defended. In his acceptance speech, Mr. Gore promised a cure for cancer, diabetes, and AIDS, and to cut the crime rate every successive year for a decade. How? By doubling federal medical research spending and financing more police. That was easy: next problem!

Mr. Bartley concluded, after cataloging several facts that show the unwisdom, counterproductivity, and what he called "the unreality" of Gore's program, that "liberalism has lost the appeal to intellect and principle it once cherished." He further concluded that the Democrat nominee will likely find he has made himself "a candidate trapped by his constituency into positions out of step with the temper of the times."

But how can Gore be talking to "almost no one" and yet not only have consolidated "his constituency," which includes many millions of people — at least one of every three likely voters in the country — but also have eliminated Bush's recent huge lead and even taken a lead of his own in some polls? Mr. Bartley's unspoken premise is that ordinary people measure a political party's candidate by how well they think his proposals will "work." But Gore was calling the nation to a moral crusade, not laying out a business plan. The point for people weary with the materialist emptiness of life in the world is to find a relief from the burden of self, to give something back for all we've been given, to find a way to participate in something noble and unselfish. Perhaps we will fail, but trying something is better than doing nothing. To such people and to such essential concerns, the response Mr. Bartley and the Republican Party offer to Gore sounds like a call to do nothing. It lacks the moral component, the call to escape from self.

The power of Gore's appeal, that is, comes not mainly from its likelihood of improving the material situation of the poor or the elderly or of any of those it is supposed to benefit directly. Rather, the power comes mainly from the subtle, powerful truth that *it is in giving that we receive,* as Saint Francis of Assisi noted eight centuries ago. In a flattened, materialist view of life, charity benefits he who "gets" — food, clothing, housing, cash, whatever. And it is to this lifeless level that Republicans — against all their rich moral heritage — confine themselves and their argument. But in the transcendent understanding of the human spirit that is the vibrant core of Western philosophy and religion, charity mainly benefits *he who gives* because giving liberates our souls from petty, forlorn servitude to appetite and to pride and from the loneliness of self.

How have we so boxed ourselves in? Republicans' Achilles' heel is the venerated GOP aversion to explicitly moral appeals, an aversion rooted in an intellectual heritage many modern Republican leaders have adopted: nineteenth century liberalism and rationalism, which has much to recommend it, but which tends, irrationally as it happens, to dismiss any idea that cannot be proven through the senses. John Locke is something of a Republican saint, and deservedly so, for he was among the foremost leaders of the philosophy that gave America freedom of religion, thought, and politics. But although Locke's conclusions were and are among history's most efficacious, his means of reaching them were and are, in critical areas, fatally flawed. Today's modern Republicans feel the sting that those flaws leave us unprepared to deflect.

Locke wrote that rational men will accept

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nothing as true beyond the degree to which it can be logically demonstrated, and implied that allowing ourselves to be guided by any supposed "truth" *not* so provable is absurd. "How a man may know whether he be [a lover of truth for truth's sake] is worth inquiry;" Locke wrote in an essay on "The Degrees of Assent," "and I think there is this one unerring mark of it, viz. the not entertaining any proposition with greater assurance than the proofs it is built on will warrant. Whoever goes beyond this measure of assent, it is plain, receives not truth in the love of it; loves not truth for truth's sake, but for some other by-end." Where does this leave us? What of the beauty of music, art, and literature? Should we regard it as "unreal" and "imaginary" and an "absurd" guide in life because the truth of that beauty's existence cannot be demonstrated in a scientist's laboratory or a logician's syllogism? What of love, religion, virtue, patriotism — and what of ordinary people, who lack time and often the mental necessities to lay out in neat detail all the reasons, the proofs, behind everything they believe is true? Should they jettison it all if they cannot? Do "rational" Republicans really believe we could stand up in the winds that would blow if Americans believed and were guided by no moral and religious precepts except those reducible by them to precise, scientific proofs?

It may be objected that I am fighting a straw man, that Locke's philosophy was not intended to be, and, in any case, *is* not actually applied to everyday life, either by Republicans or by anyone else. I would agree that, in fact, it is impossible to live according to Locke's rule with anything resembling consistency. But it is undeniable that, for instance, Wilsonite Republicans regularly castigate as absurdities exactly the "enthusiasms" of common men who insist on the right to life, on the right to own a gun for self-defense, on the guidance of religion in our day-to-day lives, or on the centrality of the family in keeping our social fabric woven together. The Lockean notion seems to operate among liberal Republicans to the extent that they reflexively dismiss as unreal and fanatical every moral concern held by conservatives. As for the broader category of Republicans, is it not true that they suffer from a marked aversion to any contact with real, ordinary people? If you want to find Republicans rising above tokenism to go out among the people, your best bet will be to look for those with Democrat roots, like Ron Unz, who launched his campaign against bilingual education after parents in East Los Angeles asked him to help them escape from it, or Ray Haynes, who regularly talks with inner city black pastors about the unpleasant disconnect between Democrats' compassionate rhetoric and the political reality of the policies they enact. Many Republican "leaders" knew bilingual education was a failure for decades, but, somehow, the time was never right to do anything about it, not even when Unz *did* do something about it.

The rationalist notion, in a sweep, eliminates music, art, poetry, religion, love, and virtue from the realm of "real life." Consequently, the Republican world, a world of "reasonable" men, tends to appear flattened and squeezed, with our most human qualities downgraded and confined to the "subjective," which means "imaginary," level of our existence. Having eliminated, at least from our political thinking, most of what can serve as a medium to connect with people, unsurprisingly we usually do *not* connect with them, and they are attracted instead by Al Gore's moral-sounding promises. Where else have they to turn?

But of course more is involved than an artificial servitude to Locke's narrow idea of what we may accept as true. Such reasonable-sounding, and actually unreasonable, constructions are created and adopted to rationalize something men want to do but are afraid they should not do. Locke's rule lacks persuasive power for an honest observer of the world of truth and fallacy, but will likely be happily adopted by those wanting to live an essentially materialistic, self-centered life unhampered by the tug of conscience. It creates a fantasyland where all such moral objections can be labeled "imaginary," banished, and forgotten. But nothing so artificially constraining as Locke's

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"rationalism" could account for the pathetic confusion and failure of will that descends upon so many Republican intellects whenever any Democrat, no matter how plainly bogus and morally corrupt he may be, starts hurling charges of "racism" or "homophobia" or talking about "compassion" or "the cause of women" (even Ted Kennedy manages to do this). The real culprit is less Locke's intellectual construction than the debilitating effects of living within the cramped intellectual and spiritual limits that it imposes. Many Republicans, like many other Americans, have fallen into the habit of living, and of defending their way of life, *as if* they believed, whether in fact they do or not, that the materialist "vision" — which is

Having eliminated, at least from our political thinking, most of what can serve as a medium to connect with people, unsurprisingly we usually do* not *connect with them.

really only a self-imposed blindness to everything that is more than exclusively sensual — "sees" all there is to see. We base our argument on "necessity," often conceding to cynical Democrats the wholly undeserved label "idealistic," while resting our defense of our own position solely on cold realism.

Not only will so tepid an argument fail to move others, but it fails, ultimately, to move even us. A matter mainly of egos and appetites, it drains our resolve, saps our strength, and we lose our courage. We no longer dare address man's spirit, a topic now too large for us. Instead, we confine ourselves to attempted bribery, seeking votes with promises of bread, and more bread. Finally, the positions of antagonist against Western freedom and of its defenders has reversed: Gore champions liberating spirit, while pro-freedom Republicans rattle the chains of necessity, arguing as if man *did* live by bread alone, and cannot see why voters drift to Gore.

I anticipate objections that I am advocating a mindless liberalism of our own: emotional promises without basis, making us as bad as our opponents. No, they are liars: they "give" nothing they haven't first stolen from others; their objective is only to produce a thin sensation of unselfishness, a false glow of righteousness, while avoiding any real giving. I advocate the real thing.

Republicans should champion freedom *first* because it is right, and secondarily because it works. They should make it clear that freedom *does* work only because it is right and that it would be the only moral course to follow even if it did not "work" from a materialist perspective. It is also time to stop portraying freedom as all wealth and pleasure. In fact, it requires sometimes great sacrifice. It requires us to take responsibility for ourselves in a world of risk. And it requires us to leave our neighbors — this is the real difficulty — free to shoulder *their* responsibilities, though their failure to do so as we think they should pains us often. That is the difference between real giving and phony liberal "compassion." Real giving is a calling worthy of a free people.

I also am not advocating a relativist libertarianism, at least if that means avoiding taking strong positions, especially in our schools, in favor of virtue and truth. Leaving others free does not require our silence about right and wrong. On the contrary, it demands we speak up for what is right. It also never means abandoning our right to self-defense against forces tending to tear down our free way of life. It *does* mean that moral persuasion is always our first and final recourse, and that force is reserved for the few cases that directly threaten our lives or property *after* all moral suasion has failed. If we arrive at a point where any more than a small minority require force to restrain

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their attacks on our freedom, a point America is far from reaching now, all will be lost anyway. But the surest way to insure that we *do* arrive at such a point is to allow ourselves to be riddled with doubts about the moral superiority of our institutions: the family, republican government, and especially our Judaeo-Christian religious heritage. That's why the ACLU works as hard as it does to ban the Ten Commandments and prayer in school. What sort of tyranny can be erected if most people believe that lying, theft, and murder are impermissible, not to mention that we should consult God before consulting men about how to live and what to do?

Of course, a lot of people say our religious heritage is by no means the source of our freedom, but rather, that it is the opposite; that progress consists precisely in our having liberated ourselves from the superstition- and ignorance-plagued past. Besides such intellectual objections as John Locke raised, what might be called anecdotal evidence is usually marshalled to support this charge: stories of corrupt clerics and wicked, hypocritical, and only outwardly "religious" people, and with histories of religious wars involving terrible cruelties and sectarian intolerance, all showing apparent mass failure to live up to the moral precepts Judaeo-Christianity prescribes *and* all intended to prove the whole business is a sham used by the strong to keep people down, or indulged by the people to keep themselves down through irrational fear and lack of knowledge that would set them free.

Now leaving aside the injustice of blaming religion for everything it has not yet reformed — which is like blaming a doctor for the death of a patient who refused to follow the doctor's order to quit smoking cigarettes — it seems to me this objection turns, as its whole basis, on the premise that men do *not* need religion to be good, that is, that the traditional idea is false that abandoning God will lead to moral depravity, contrary to what the Bible, from beginning to end, warns will happen. Instead, we are told, removing religion will release us from a distorting, repressive mythology, liberating the naturally virtuous human spirit and establishing the reign of right reason. As John Lennon said, "Imagine — no religion — nothing to kill or die for — the world will be as one."

Republicans should champion freedom first because it is right, and secondarily because it 'works.'

So, looking at the "liberated" world, what do we see? The first political movement embodying this "enlightened" premise to achieve significant success introduced to the world, in the French Revolution, mass terror and the systematic extermination of whole classes of people, with a contemptuous trampling of the principle of individual guilt or innocence. It went on to give Europe its first megalomaniacal tyrant and the first "revolution without borders" — that is, the concept of total war, not limited to any finite objective or level of destruction, but driven to subjugate the whole human race to the last man, to the last unfettered thought, and the last independent moral judgement. The carnage it unleashed, stretching from Central America to Moscow, lasted more than a quarter of a century. Next, after another round of proclaiming God "dead" and more predictions of heaven on earth just 'round the corner, "the future" appeared in Russia, led by a man who said the French Revolutionists' mistake was insufficient ruthlessness. This time heaven turned out to be more or less continual war on every continent, engulfing nearly every nation, for most of the next century. Novelties introduced included the world's first concentration camps, churches turned into anti-God museums, "show trials" featuring grotesque lampoons of the Western

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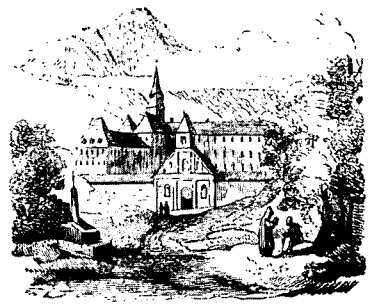
principle that a man must be considered innocent until proven guilty of a crime, and mass starvation as a political weapon. See *The Gulag Archipelago* for further details.

Then Hitler, whom leftists call "right wing," operating under the banner of "National Socialism," overthrew all vestiges of republican government in Germany and tried to do so for all Europe, persecuted all religions, continued the leftist policy of exterminating whole "enemy" peoples, again contemptuous of whether or not anyone had actually *done* anything to warrant systematic abuse, imprisonment, and murder. And, of course, he plunged the world into another total war.

For eight years, the White House has been home to an absolute alienation from every traditional concept of morality; not just of Western civilization, but of every civilization ever. Bill Clinton is a pathological liar, apparent sex addict who evidently cannot answer for himself in this regard for the briefest moment, a shameless scofflaw, and brazen hypocrite whose "apologies" must race to stay ahead of his next "mistake." He bombs foreign peoples for political convenience to distract from embarrassing events at home. He is fascinated with a procedure for killing innocent people at the very moment of birth by crushing their skulls and sucking out their brains, and will brook no opposition to keeping this procedure, performed for the flimsiest of reasons or no reason at all, legal and provided at taxpayer expense.



There is no need to continue this catalog. What we see is, of course, the reverse of every prediction made by anti-religious people everywhere. We see that men without God proceed from small evils to large ones, from minor stupidities to mass idiocy and madness, and that *no* evil is beyond their willingness to commit it, that, finally, only inability restrains them. The myth is not God, but the notion of "naturally-virtuous" man. What life confirms is the Judaeo-Christian warning: the wages of sin is death.

Americans who love their freedom will have to grow out of the rationalist box if they are to engage the Democrats at the moral level and begin to connect with people. If they ever do, we will be able to say accurately not only that "liberalism has lost the appeal to intellect and principle it once cherished," but also that Democrats no longer mystify Republicans.

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California Republicans and Big Business: Time to Split?

The marriage has been long, and was once idealic. But, given the perfidy of the state's corporate giants, is it time for conservatives to embrace a split tax roll?

Christopher Shelton

It is time for the California Republican Party — and conservatives in particular — to think seriously about a divorce from big business.

This marriage started in the mists of long ago with shared ideology and mutual political interests. In the last 10-to-15 years, as the conservative stalwarts of the Reagan era were gradually replaced by "pragmatists" in boardrooms across the state, a fear of liberal legislative excess kept the relationship together despite increasingly divergent core philosophies. These two long-time "domestic partners" — California Republicans/conservatives and big business — now have almost nothing in common, and the corporate elite has been cheating and running around on us as well. Now that the children are all grown up and gone — Reagan, Deukmejian, and Wilson being nowhere to be found — it is time to call a good divorce lawyer and file the papers.

The drift of the business community into the swamp of corporate socialism and "feed the alligator" accommodation with ultra-liberals in Sacramento has been a gradual process. But its progress is unmistakable and its momentum enormous and probably irreversible. The last nail in the coffin was probably Dan Lungren's immolation by Gray Davis accompanied by the election of Democrat majorities in both houses of the Legislature.

The business community's most recent, and most serious, act of perfidy is its support for Proposition 39 on the November ballot. This gem would reduce the vote needed to pass school bonds from the current 66 percent to 55 percent. Business is not just "supporting" this measure. They are the heart and soul of the effort to pass it, and its main source of campaign cash.

Christopher Shelton is a political writer living in Sacramento.

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The concept of reducing the vote required to pass school bonds may ring a bell with you. The California Teacher's Association placed a measure on the March primary ballot, which would have reduced the needed vote to 50 percent. In a move that stunned many veteran Capitol observers, the business community abandoned its long-held position of opposing tax increases in general. California business sold its soul, lock, stock, and barrel, to the CTA and Governor Davis in support of the measure, ponying up $12 million to pass it. Happily, the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association scraped together $2 million to send its message to home owners and other taxpayers. The measure lost narrowly (49 to 51 percent). The excitement of the Republican presidential primary and conservative turnout to vote for Proposition 22 (Defense Of Marriage) probably made the difference.

CTA, California business, and other big government, high tax advocates were stunned to say the least. After many high level pow-wows, it was decided to try again, this time the vote requirement would be reduced to 55 instead of 50 percent. And so Proposition 39 was born.

What makes this breach by the business community so egregious in my view is its brazenness. Other than educrat propaganda, there is virtually no common sense argument to be made in favor of this measure. Whether arguing the merits or the practicality of the 66 percent vote threshold for passing school bonds, California business and their new-found friends in the tax-and-spend lobby are on the distinctly short end of the logic stick.

On the merits, of course, there are exceptionally good and long revered reasons for requiring a super majority whenever taxes are imposed on a small segment of the population. School bonds rely solely on property taxes for repayment. So in this particular case 55 percent (or 50 percent in the March version) of the voters could impose a tax that would apply only to home owners. The slippery slope of making it too easy for a majority to confiscate the wealth of a minority ought to be apparent even in the rarified air of California's teak-paneled corporations. Maintaining society's bulwarks against capricious and arbitrary seizure of people's life savings is a matter of moral equity and civic virtue.

The argument for this measure as "necessary" or "practical" weakens its' proponents case even further. The educrats and their business allies say we must make it easier to raise property taxes because our schools are in such bad shape. They would have you believe it is virtually impossible to pass a school bond in California. But in the 1990s — including, by definition of course, the recession years in the early part of the decade — 58 percent of all school bonds on the ballot were approved. Considering just the last four years, the approval number goes up to 61 percent. And in the March primary, seven school districts had bond measures on the ballot; six of them received the necessary 66 percent vote for passage.

But according to our business "leaders" this is not enough. You must make it easier for your property taxes to be raised. Why? Well, because the teachers' union and multi-billion dollar corporations say so, that's why.

But that's only half the picture. At the same time our corporate strumpets are pouring millions of dollars into the effort to raise your property taxes, they are also spending big bucks to pass November's Proposition 37 to reduce theirs. This measure would overturn a California Supreme Court ruling, known as the "Sinclair Paint" decision, that allowed cities and counties to raise certain taxes on businesses with a 50 percent vote instead of 66 percent. Proposition 37 would reverse that decision, requiring a 66 percent vote to raise taxes on business. For those of you who went to public schools let me connect the dots: This means the California business community is simultaneously supporting measures that would increase the vote needed to raise *their* taxes to 66 percent while decreasing the vote needed to raise *your* property taxes to 55 percent. Can you spell hypocrisy?

It would be nice to say business has been seized by temporary insanity, but an inspection of the record for the last few years does not support that. California business has slowly evolved from a principled defender of free enterprise to what it is today: a sorry collection of rich elitists, disdainful of many people, but most especially of the great unwashed who just don't understand that the new collaboration of super big government and super big business is the new millenium's road to utopia.

The principal culprits in this corporate rape of the small taxpayer are Silicon Valley, the California Business Roundtable, the California Chamber of Commerce, and the California Manufacturers and Technology Association. These three statewide associations

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in particular werer once vital parts of the vibrant business/conservative coalition that could stop virtually any tax increase or other measure when they worked together. Thus it is sad that these three groups have decided to trade their long-held convictions for hinges on their heels.

Their treachery in supporting the March measure was bad enough. But having done so they could have easily begged off supporting this new effort. They didn't. So meek and slavish has become their servitude to the CTA, Gray Davis, and virtually any other advocate of bigger government and higher taxes (except on them of course) that they could not even find the backbone to do the right thing when it would have been reasonably simple and painless for them to do so!

Conversations related to me by folks who have talked with the leaders of all three of these associations show little hope of a reversal of this sad trend. The day-to-day leaders of all three happen to be registered Republicans. The leaders of all three may in fact, have voted against the offending initiative in March and may do so again in November. But these worthies are mere functionaries, at the mercy of their boards and their membership. And both their boards *and* their membership have come to be dominated by mega-bucks elitists, whose companies are large enough to profit from big government as it stifles start-up competition.

Additionally, the companies that dominate these once taxpayer-friendly associations have utter disdain and contempt for ideological conservatives. The root of the word "ideology," of course, is "idea," and these corporate honchos do not understand policy driven by ideas. In fact, they fear it. In Sacramento they heap scorn on conservative legislators while heaping cash and advancement on their favorite animal — "pragmatists" who know no principal more important than the "fad *du jour.*"

These folks roll their eyes at the mention of Steve Baldwin, Rico Oller, Ray Haynes, or Tom McClintock. But they simper, pander, and virtually drool all over Sheila Kuhl, Antonio Villaragosa, and Steve Peace.

So big business has, not once, but twice this year made it plain it doesn't care if your property taxes double as a result of the easier passing of school bonds. They have shown, not once, but twice this year that they are mere lackey's of the bigger government/higher taxes (again on you, not them) lobby. So having been given this bagful of lemons by the corporate types, I suggest we make lemonade. And this lemonade is called the "split roll" for property taxes.

This concept has long been a darling of the far left — the very folks that business is now in bed with. It would tax residential property at a different, lower rate than business property. For years the only reason this idea has not passed has been stalwart opposition from conservative legislators and veto threats from Republican governors. The time has come for the conservative movement to return to its populist roots, tell our business traitors to go to hell, and embrace the split roll movement.

Looking for an issue that will appeal to blue collar Democrats and lower-income minority voters? Try this on for size. "Okay, Mr. Democrat living in a $150,000 house in Riverside or Natomas or Fairfield, we are going to raise property taxes on Intel, Well Fargo Bank, and State Farm Insurance by 25 percent. As a result your property taxes are going to decrease by 75 percent and government revenues are going to increase by X billions of dollars".

Think it would sell? Think it would give the conservative philosophy or the Republican Party a friendlier face among the target audience? Of course it would. And it would have the additional benefit of forcing Governor Davis into a decision he would dread. He would have to choose between his new benefactors in corporate California or the lower and middle class voting majority.

Personally, I think this could be the key to a conservative renaissance in California. It will have to be a grass roots effort, as it will have to be a ballot initiative. The leadership of the Jarvis Association will be crucial. Business and much of the Republican establishment will howl, of course. To the GOP we should simply say: look at the facts. To business, we can rightfully say that "you started this fight; you set these new ground rules. We refuse to be walked on any more. We refuse to ignore your hypocrisy and treachery to the small homeowner while feathering your own nest. Don't call on us anymore when you need the hard legislative votes cast. We are through with you. We are rightfully on the side of the small guy in his never-ending battle against the encroaching tentacles of big government — and big business. You are the ones who switched sides in the middle of the battle. Enjoy your new friends."

Split roll, here we come.

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CRITICUS

Expo-sing Your Rs

BY G.B. TENNYSON

COMMON CONSENT has it that the first world's fair, although not called such, was the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London. Because it was housed in an extravagant structure resembling a vast greenhouse and named the Crystal Palace, it was also popularly known as the Crystal Palace Exhibition. Its full official name was "Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations." It proved to be the model for the various large-scale exhibitions that came afterwards and that are now officially designated world's fairs.

As best Criticus could ascertain, the term "world's fair" was first used in a collection of sonnets written for a later exhibit and titled *The Great Exhibition of 1862* (published 1864) by no less than Charles Tennyson Turner, who was an elder brother of the greater Tennyson, by whom I mean the Poet Laureate, of course. (Charles had adopted the additional surname of Turner as recipient of an inheritance from an uncle of that name.) Tennyson Turner's sonnets praise the international character of the exhibition, citing how every nation glories in "this kindly intercourse," sending goods by rail and sea, even enlisting the aid of such as the "o'erladen camel" to bring goods to the shore to go aboard ships that the camel eyes "with a witless stare" as they "float his burthen off to the world's Fair." Which, I believe, is where the term first surfaces. Tennyson Turner does not doubt that all of this display will add to the wealth and peace of nations. Fond Hope.

Not so much later the American Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia provoked James Russell Lowell to compose "The World's Fair, 1876," a decidedly less enthusiastic outburst than Tennyson Turner's sonnets but one that added to the currency of the term. World's Fair thereafter became the standard, though usually unofficial, term for ambitious international gatherings displaying the culture and commerce of the nations of the world. The Paris World Exhibition of 1889 brought us the Eiffel Tower, a kind of parent of the 1962 Seattle Space Needle, which in turn appears to have been the model for the Las Vegas Stratosphere Hotel, which now, to come full circle,

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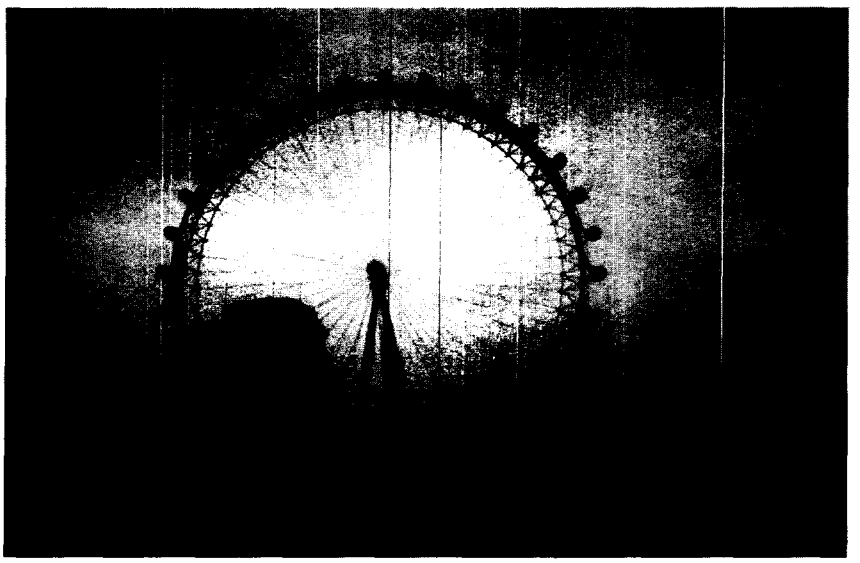
has as a neighbor a 50 percent scale model of the Eiffel Tower. Which proves, I think, that even world's fairs end up as farce.

The Chicago World's Fair of 1893 (officially the World's Columbian Exposition) introduced the Ferris Wheel, still flourishing in glorified form in the spectacular "London Eye," officially the Millennium Wheel. New York in 1939 brought the trylon and perisphere, decorative but not good for much. After all that Criticus begins to forget the rest, both where they were held and what they used as symbol, much as most of us forget which disneyfied animal symbolized which Olympics. For that matter, do we even know the name and nature of the mascot for the Sydney Olympics, and if we do, will we remember it this time next year or when the Salt Lake City winter games roll around?

POSSIBLY WORLD'S fairs are fading in popularity. The term itself seems to be popular only with the public, not with fair makers. The current world's fair bills itself as Expo2000. It is running in Hanover, Germany, from June to November and Criticus was able to give it a look-in. At the time of his visit another event called Euro 2000 was also taking place not so far away in Belgium. (This attaching of 2000 to everything in sight, from the Democrat Convention to the Olympics, will be one of the happy casualties of the arrival of the true millennium next year.) Euro 2000 denoted the European Football (soccer) Championship. During its run, Euro tended to overshadow Expo, largely because Euro was marred so repeatedly by violence from so-called "football hooligans," the most unruly of whom are English. They more than trashed the town center of Charleroi, Belgium, when England beat Germany, and would no doubt have done worse had England lost, which shortly thereafter it did and thus left the competition, to the relief of almost everybody. And why is it that sporting contests increasingly end with fan violence? Don't tell Criticus the reason is that soccer builds unbearable tensions because scoring is so rare: look at the fans of the Lakers.

Back at Expo2000 the excitement was more subdued but not without its odd amusements. Criticus happened to be there on the day of what came to be called the "Pinkel-Affäre," which, if you missed it, translates into something like "The Piddle Affair." To make matters clearer yet, what happened was that Prinz Ernst August von Hannover was discovered urinating against a wall at the Turkish Pavilion. Not only ought princes not urinate in public (nor, of course, should the rest of us), but for a German one from the host city to do so in a country with a sizable Turkish minority that often claims it is discriminated against was enough to make the incident take on diplomatic overtones. At the same time it drew the wrath of the leader of German nobility, Prince Michael of Prussia and grandson of the last Kaiser. At first Ernst August denied it, but a German tabloid somehow got hold of a photo of the event (taken bizarrely from a schoolhouse across the way) and ran it on page one with a bright red dot prudently placed. By this time the dashing prince (he is the husband of Princess Caroline of Monaco) was being referred to in the media as Prinz Pipi (rhymes with wee-wee), so he 'fessed up and apologized, assuring the world that he had nothing whatsoever against the Turkish people. Chances are the location was accidental, but thank God there was no Israeli pavilion.



The "London Eye"

By comparison much of the rest of Expo2000 was quite tame. Criticus did come very close to royalty one more time when he ambled across to a venue crowded outside with a group of excited onlookers. He asked one of the girls what they were all so agitated about. "Die Königin! Die Königin!" they cried. "The Queen of what?" asked Criticus. It was the Queen of Denmark who thereupon emerged

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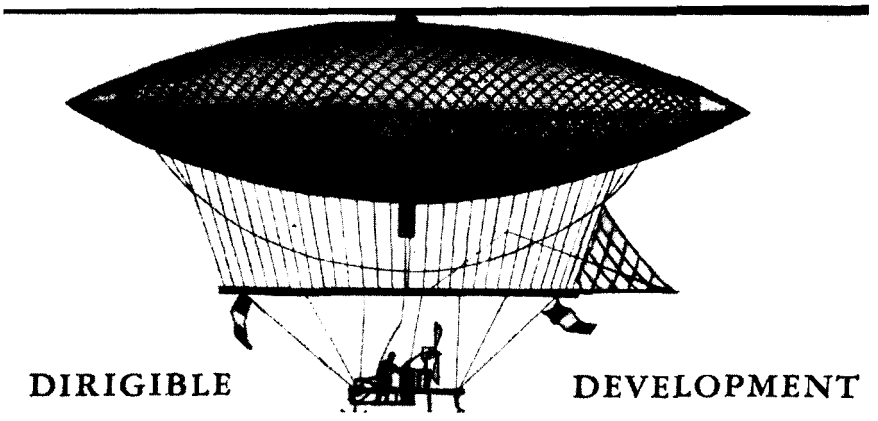
from the Danish pavilion with a modest entourage and passed within feet of Criticus and the admiring crowd to vanish amidst much applause into a vehicle lurking among a fleet of Mercedeses and Audis. The best part of all this for an unrepentant monarchist was to see how royalty can still thrill the European heart. Here on a continent full of what are essentially socialist governments (whatever happened to the alleged ideological victory of the Cold War?) queens and princes move the multitude as surely as rock stars and film actresses bring squeals to the lips of teenage America. No doubt readers will differ, but for my part I'd rather see the dignified Danish Queen to somebody called Queen Latifah and even the incontinent Prinz Ernst August to somebody called Puff Daddy.



DIRIGIBLE DEVELOPMENT

The rest of Expo2000, which is to say Expo2000 as a World's Fair, was surprisingly dull. The United States declined even to mount a pavilion, which is no doubt why almost no one I have talked to in America even knows there is such a fair ongoing. In this case, not a great deal is being missed. There were, to be sure, occasional striking displays, but most were touristy and full of boastings about the country in question. Britain, for example, chose as its theme the now shopworn cliché of "diversity"; Switzerland erected a structure that looked like layers of cheese but with almost nothing inside; while India pasted red caste marks on the foreheads of female visitors. So it went. As for the number of shops selling Expo-kitsch, well, they almost outnumbered the national exhibits. The one entertaining innovation was an aerial tram that spanned the entire length of the display area. Large, fully-enclosed bubbles (the London Eye gondolas writ somewhat smaller) swayed high in the air across the terrain on an angle that made the whole setting visible. And the ride was free with the general admission.

They tell me this is the first world's fair ever to be held in Germany. Also that it has not attracted the crowds expected. I am willing to bet that the 2006 World Cup (soccer again), also to be held in Germany, will far outdraw Expo2000. If only they could enlist those ex-communist, now neo-Nazi, skinheads from eastern Germany to form a new SS to control the English contingent, we could hope for a well-managed rather than a piddling affair. Perhaps they could even make a permanent international force to subdue sports rioters everywhere and at the same time reduce the high rate of unemployment in eastern Germany. (Note to the *L.A. Times* — see below — *this is a joke.)*

The Danish national day at the fair (for such it was that brought forth Queen Margrethe) was followed a few days later by the 100th anniversary of the first flight of the zeppelin, which occurred on July 2, 1900. This anniversary was celebrated in Germany in countless newspapers and magazines as something at least as momentous as the flight three years later of the Wright Brothers at Kitty Hawk. In fact, that first zeppelin flight at Friedrichshafen on Lake Constance lasted eighteen minutes as against the Wright Brothers paltry twelve seconds at first and then fifty-nine seconds.

BUT IT was the plane not the zeppelin that was destined to rule the air. The zeppelin did enjoy some extraordinary achievements, including such things as the first round-the-world flight by air (in only twelve, not eighty, days) and elegant three-day passenger flights from Germany to Rio de Janeiro. As is well known, it all came to an end in May of 1937 at Lakehurst, New Jersey, when the "Hindenburg" exploded upon landing, killing thirty-six and severely injuring another sixty-two. Less well known is the fact that such a fire would not have occurred had the vessel been filled with non-flammable helium rather than oxygen. Even less well known is that the reason helium was not used was that the United States controlled the world's helium and refused to let the Germans have any. For good measure the Allies totally destroyed the zeppelin factory in bombing raids in 1944.

Yet out of the ashes a new zeppelin factory has aris-

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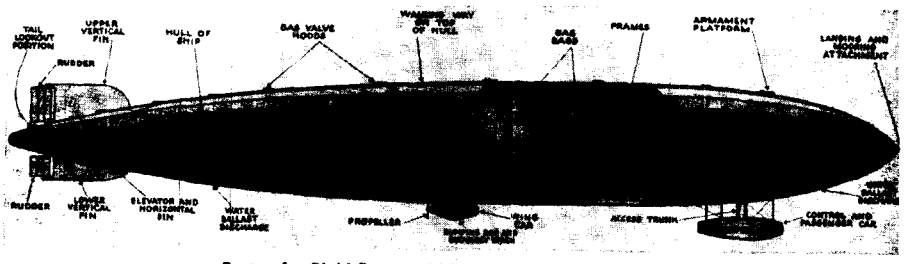
en in Friedrichshafen, and a new series of zeppelins is being produced, some for airfreight transport, others for pleasure and sightseeing. Criticus knows of a zeppelin enthusiast so dedicated as to qualify as a zeppelin freak who intends to make a pilgrimage to Friedrichshafen in the coming year to fly on one of the vessels that will be taking tourists on day-trips over the Alps. He has even besought Criticus to go along, and your doughty columnist is almost minded so to do. Imagine floating in the air in blissful silence rather than hurtling forward tormented by the drone of engines. Even imagine flying down to Rio as though it were 1933 all over again.



Parts of a Rigid Type of Dirigible, Showing Construction

Imagine floating in the air in blissful silence. Even imagine flying down to Rio as though it were 1933 all over again.

On such an uplifting note did Criticus return to Southern California only to be greeted by an attack in the pages of the local journalistic blimp, which is to say, the *Los Angeles Times.* (Note: blimps are baggy, gaseous things covered with advertisements, deflated by nightfall; zeppelins are aristocratic structures of supreme length and elegance, capable of long sustained flights.) Constant Readers may know the story from the blimp, but others will need a briefing. Here it is.

On Tuesdays the *Times* features a column in its second section by one Agustin Gurza. Criticus has even read it from time to time. In his column of July 18, titled "Life, Liberty, and the Right to Roll Your Double Rs," Gurza seized upon a Criticus column of a year ago in this very journal (July/August 1999) titled "Accents Yet Unknown." You will perhaps remember it. It's the one in which I deplored the increasing slovenliness of contemporary speech, especially sloppy diction and general incomprehensibility of utterance. I cited a similar sort of concern expressed about nonstandard speech, especially the dialect of Liverpool, by the distinguished British novelist Beryl Bainbridge. My own examples ranged fairly widely, including teenagers using "Mallspeak," non-native speakers with impenetrable accents who are employed by telemarketing firms, even college students. But one instance I cited proved to be a red flag for Mr. Gurza: I dared criticize a Los Angeles radio reporter for pronouncing his name like a "matador taunting a bull." I also jocularly proposed requiring clear recitation of poetry as a condition of citizenship for immigrants.

By now you can predict the rest. Gurza not only waxed wroth at my criticism of what I am now going to call "Bullspeak" (that's the rolling of the Rs), but he actually took the immigration test japery as a solemn proposal. He appears to have sought about for support, ringing up Rolling Rs newscaster Torres himself, and an editor from the relevant radio station, and the former director of the Voice of America, and so on. Oddly enough, some of what he reports from his survey rather undercuts his own indignation. The radio station has had frequent complaints about the roaring Double Rs, and the VOA requires that speakers be "easily understood." Gurza himself allows that though his own name should be pronounced "Ah-goos-TEEN," he "anglicizes" it on his voicemail "to make it easier for people who call." How's that?

Because Criticus was out of town, *CPR's* intrepid editor sent Gurza a letter and a copy of another *CPR* article (not by Criticus) that said what a former *L.A. Times* writer thought of the way newspapers get put together and the people who do the newspaper sausage-making. (See Paul Ciotti, "How the Media Makes People Paranoid," *CPR,* Fall 1992.) Gurza scrawled a reply on the very letter itself and posted it back to the editor. Apparently the *Times* doesn't provide stationery for once-a-week columnists. Gurza wrote:

> John: I take this as your back-handed way of saying you didn't like the column. But don't confuse informality and brevity for lack of thought. It's just a technique to keep the column short and readable. Besides, going on at great length is no sign of deep thinking, as

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Prof. Tennyson's essay so ably demonstrates.

Criticus takes it that by "confuse ... for" Gurza means "confuse ... with," or possibly "mistake ... for," and that by "ably" he means something like "fully" or "visibly."

Criticus himself was later to return and write a letter to the editor on this matter, but in its wisdom the *Times* did not print it. It probably wasn't informal and brief enough to make it short and readable. In *CPR's* wisdom, we print it here:

> It is always heartening for a writer to find his work noticed not just by others but by another writer. It is, however, disheartening to find that the other writer has managed to misunderstand the point and tone of what one has written. That, alas, is the case with Agustin Gurza's belated encounter with my essay "Accents Yet Unknown" from the July/August 1999 *California Political Review.*
>
> Readers of Gurza's petulant discourse would have no way of knowing that the proposal he quotes from me that applicants for citizenship be required to recite poetry or be deported falls under the category of irony. Gurza labels it "Orwellian," a term long past its sell-by date and inapplicable to irony in any case. Gurza mischaracterizes the essay by making it appear to be mainly a gripe about such things as the aggressive pronunciation of his name by a local radio reporter, which was but one illustration. He then reveals that his pronunciation has long been the object of widespread disapproval by listeners, a fact I did not know but one that supports my argument. Then, by speaking of hate mail sent to the newspaper and later by saying of my essay "we can't call it racist," Gurza is cuddling up to the rhetorical device of *occupatio* and certainly getting into bed with its sibling *occultatio.* If these terms are not as familiar to the general reader as Gurza's outcry *"Ay, caramba!"* let us just say they have to do with insinuation.
>
> Perhaps the most unnerving thing about Gurza's tone-deaf reading of my remarks is his appropriation of the underlying point when he states approvingly that the only rule of the Voice of America is that the speakers "must be easily understood." Yes, that's what I was saying

To be sure, my letter is very much *de haut en bas.* But how else should a zeppelin address a blimp?

BOOKS

Horatio Alger Purdy

BY PETER HANNAFORD

GEORGE PURDY died last March at age 92, but he left us the story of a fascinating and largely happy life, a life lived by the precepts of honesty, integrity, truthfulness, hard work, self-reliance, and overcoming adversity. His story makes for engaging — and uplifting — reading.

This is the story of a life lived from one side of the Pacific Ocean to the other, California to Japan, with the South Pacific and Korea in between. Born in Durango, Colorado, in 1907 to a mining en-

A Summer for a Lifetime
The Life and Times of George I. Purdy

as told to Thomas Caldwell

Lost Coast Press, Fort Bragg, California, 2000,

152 pages, $24.95, cloth.

Peter Hannaford's latest book, The Quotable Calvin Coolidge: Sensible Words for a New Century, *will be published this November.*

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gineer father and school teacher mother, George Purdy spent most of his youth in San Diego. A lifelong love of the sea began there, first with a memorable teenage summer spent with a pal on an uninhabited island off the coast of Mexico (which inspired the book's title), then with a merchant ship trip with his father from San Diego to San Francisco.

PURDY WANTED to attend the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis, but applications were closed at the time. So, he enlisted. After a few months he was enrolled in the Naval Academy Preparatory Class. Seven months later he passed the exams and entered Annapolis. In his second year, 1929, however, Navy budget cutbacks resulted in his being dropped at the end of the school year. Desperate for work, he became a Fuller Brush salesman. He lost money at it.

As the nation slid into an economic depression, Purdy heard there were openings at the American Smelting & Refining Company's copper plant in Baltimore. He knew nothing about metals, but was hired and studied the subject assiduously. A year later he learned of positions opening at a copper plant in El Paso, Texas. He was interviewed and hired for a junior management job. Within a year he was assistant head of his department. Meanwhile, he married and had a son.

About his career in metallurgy, Purdy recognized opportunity's knock when it came. He writes, "I took the opportunity presented to me and made the most of it."

When World War II came, he wrote to the Navy Department, asking for reinstatement and active duty. Turned down, he discovered it wasn't because of some defect on his part, but because, as a metallurgical specialist, he was considered to be of "strategic importance." He petitioned his company's management several times to be released from work so he could join the Navy. Finally they let him go. He was commissioned and sent to Treasure Island in San Francisco Bay (site of the 1939-40 Golden Gate International Exhibition) to create a Navy welding school.

Purdy's 'recipe' for a happy and successful life should be dropped from airplanes on college campuses from coast to coast.

A little more than a year later, Purdy found himself as gunnery officer on a destroyer escort in the Atlantic ("the green monster," he called that ocean), convoying ships to Europe. His descriptions of torpedoed ships, survivors left to die in the ocean, and hunts for German u-boats are gripping — and chilling.

By late 1944 he had his own ship to command: LST 973 (Landing Ship, Tank). On its first voyage, through the Panama Canal to San Diego (and thence the South Pacific), he circled the "desert island" of his youth, regaling his crew with the tales of his boyhood adventures.

ON HIS first day in Japan, three weeks after the surrender in 1945, Purdy had two encounters that gave him a different and broader perspective on humanity than he had felt before. Japan was soon to have such a magnetic pull for him that he stayed for the rest of his life, nearly half a century. During the American occupation, Purdy had the important job of inventorying all the metallurgical assets of the stricken nation, then getting its metals industries up and running again. Four years later he opened his own trading company. He soon found himself involved in international intrigue over breaking the sanctions Korea had on products made by their former enemy, the Japanese.

As his business influence grew, Purdy also devoted considerable amounts of time to civic affairs, mostly dedicated to improving U.S.-Japan relations. He was president of the American Chamber of Commerce in Japan, active in Masonic work, the Japan Naval League, and the Boy Scouts. A boating enthusiast, he captained his own cabin cruiser almost until the end of his life.

IN HIS Epilogue, George Purdy gives us his "recipe" for a happy and successful life. In this day of nihilism and moral relativism, reprints of it should be dropped from airplanes on college campuses from coast to coast.

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THE COMMITTEE FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

Defend Freedom of Conscience

If you believe that no government may legitimately tell us what to think about religion, morality, and politics; if you share our support for freedom of conscience, religious freedom, and free speech, then please use the form below to join us by adding your name as a signer to The Committee for Religious Freedom's Statement of Support for the three-judge panel decision in *Thomas v. Anchorage Equal Rights Commission.*

This Committee, which needs everyone's support, includes nationally-known Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish leaders: *First Things* Editor Rev. **Richard John Neuhaus**, nationally-known author Rabbi **Daniel Lapin**, Roman Catholic Bishop of Salt Lake City Most Rev. **George H. Niederauer**, *Life & Times* host **Hugh Hewitt**, Former U.S. Ambassador to the Vatican **William A. Wilson**, and Pastor **Laurence White** of Houston's Our Savior Lutheran Church. Please read our full statement and list of signers at our web site (www.cppf.org) or in *CPR's* Nov./Dec. 1999 issue.

These Religious and Community leaders support the January ruling in *Thomas v. Anchorage Equal Rights Commission* which upholds First Amendment religious freedom guarantees against lawsuits that would force landlords to choose between sacrificing their livelihood or renting against their religious convictions to unmarried couples. That ruling is now under review by an 11-judge panel of the U.S. 9th Circuit Court of Appeals.

"Landlords are accused of violating civil rights if they object on religious grounds to being forced to choose between renting to unmarried couples or going out of business," our statement reads. "But is it not *their* freedom of conscience and *our own* First Amendment Religious Freedom rights that are under attack?" If you agree that these rights should be defended, please sign and return this form today. Thank you.

I support the Statement of The Committee for Religious Freedom.

Optional: ___ Please keep me informed of the Committee's activities.

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